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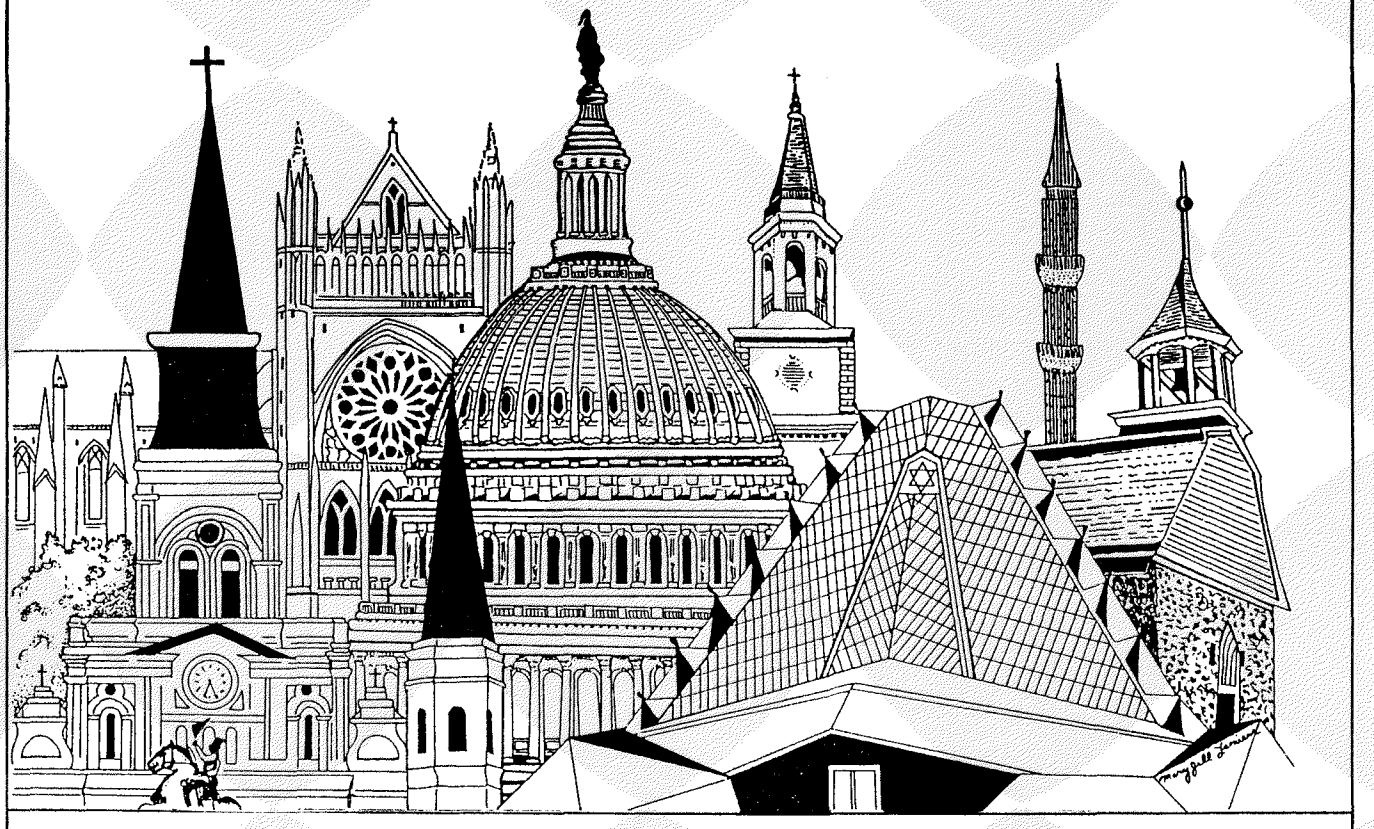
THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. V, No. 3 Spring 1995

Religious Lobbies and The Immigration Debate



Do You Know What They're Saying On Your Behalf?

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people should we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** can we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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Religion and Immigration

Editorial

Or is it immigration and religion? We obviously feel that religious groups should not control immigration policy, and they do not. But in the real world of political influence, religious figures and organizations have a very potent say. What are they saying? That is the theme of this issue.

At the outset let me cite our Winter 1992-93 issue (Vol III, No. 2), entitled "The Role of the Churches in Population Growth, Immigration and the Environment." Those who wish to delve further into this subject will find additional worthwhile background material there.

We lead off with our Washington editor Roy Beck. In the above mentioned issue, he focused on what the major religious *denominations* had to say about immigration. Here he is concerned with what their Washington *lobbying offices* are actually doing... revealingly, the two do not always coincide. Then David Simcox extends his analysis (begun in the earlier issue) of the Catholic Church's stake in immigration. The basis and power of their opposition to immigration reform comes through strongly: they are a formidable opponent.

Our managing editor Robert Kyser (a retired Presbyterian minister) fills us in on mainline Protestant opinion, and musicologist Ed Levy does the same for his fellow Jews. John Vinson of the American Immigration Control Foundation presents a conservative Protestant view, and investigative reporter James Robb looks in on the little known Catholic order of Scalabrinians, whose mission is to émigrés. A journalist member of the Apostolic Church reports on a church-run coyote operation in southern California.

These are substantial forces to be reckoned with.

Our second section stems from the hinterland — outside the beltway. Tom Faber and Wayne Lutton detail the situation in their home town of Chicago, and George Immerwahr gives us a view from overseas. John Rohe refreshes our memory on the *Plyler v Doe* case, and wonders if the Supreme Court will get a chance to reconsider it, thanks to California's Proposition 187. There is an update on the Arizona Official English initiative of 1988, recently ruled unconstitutional by the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Jack Martin muses on the national security implications of the demographics south of the U.S./Mexico border. This leads into three articles on Mexico: the drug traffic, treatment of immigrants on Mexico's southern border, and a call for that country to take care of its own poor, not export them.

Linda Thom challenges the Urban Institute on its analysis of the revenue and expenses attributable to immigration, the illegal variety in particular. Don Mann closes this section by widening our view to the "Caribbean Centrifuge."

In our book review segment we try to serve as your surrogate in reading, but we are sure you will want to peruse some of these titles for yourself. First comes Brent Nelson's prospectus on Peter Brimelow's long-awaited *Alien Nation* — a book that will be heavily promoted and will doubtless surface in the daily press. [See the advertisement for it inside our back cover.] Robert Kyser finds himself in general agreement with Stephen Mumford's book on *NSSM 200*, but wishes he would leave the concept of conspiracy behind.

Mark Wegierski reminds us, in the wake of our southern neighbor's currency collapse, to look north as well: Canada's dollar teetered on the brink just after Mexico's peso fell. Will we have to rescue that one as well? (Our own currency is hardly "sound as a dollar" — its value dropped 10% in the first 10 weeks of this year.) Then professor William McNeill shifts our focus away from current events with a look at the Germanic invasions in Europe of A.D. 400-600. Gustav Uhlich gets down to basics, examining the workings of the human central nervous system, with which both you and I have been able to get as far as we have in writing and reading this editorial. Does this apparatus set the limits of what we as humans can hope to achieve?

One needs courage and an optimistic nature to wade through such a collage of reports and essays and come up still willing to fight on! But we need the facts and clear-eyed assessments.

Our goal is still to present between one set of covers a coherent view of the immigration problem in hopes of moving it toward a resolution. We are always glad to hear from you on how we're doing. Comments on the use of a cover graphic will be particularly welcome ... this is our first such cover.

John Tanton
Editor and Publisher

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Roy Beck is the Washington editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT. *This article is based on excerpts from his new book,* Prophets and Politics: Handbook on the Washington Offices of U.S. Churches *published in 1994 by the Institute on Religion and Democracy (193 pages, paperback, $8.95 plus $2.50 s&h). Copies may be ordered by calling The Social Contract Press, 800/352-4843.)*

National Religious Lobbying

Washington Offices That Help Promote High Immigration

By Roy Beck

National religious lobbyists have played a key role in providing political protection for Congress while, against the wishes of the voters, our representatives quadrupled immigrant and refugee admissions over the last three decades. In pronouncements made publicly and sent back to local congregations, church lobbyists have offered unwavering support for high immigration as the morally correct stance for the United States.

Who are these religious lobbyists?

They operate out of 17 lobbying offices on or near Capitol Hill (see table on facing page). They represent scores of denominations with a combined membership of more than 130 million Americans. Indeed, America's faith groups are well-situated to make their voices heard in Washington's corridors of political power, issuing moral critiques and admonitions on many govern-mental affairs.

The 17 lobbying offices are of three types:

- Twelve of the offices represent individual denominations. Most of them are among the largest of religious bodies, such as the Catholic, Southern Baptist and United Methodist denominations. But the Church of the Brethren, with only 150,000 adherents, also has its own office.
- Three lobbying operations serve several denominations of the same family of churches. One represents seven Baptist denominations. Another serves 26 of 30 regional groupings of the loose-knit Quaker community. A third lobbies for six Mennonite denominations and the Brethren in Christ Church.
- The final two offices are large ecumenical operations. The National Association of Evangelicals represents 47 denominations. The National Council of Churches is the Washington voice for 32 denominations.

The 17 little-understood operations are neither as powerful as their constituency numbers would suggest nor as inconsequential as their paucity of general news coverage would indicate.

On virtually any issue or political development of significance in Washington, one or more of the 17 can be expected to try to influence the outcome of legislation, court decisions and administrative actions. But the 17 rarely speak with a single moral voice or act in unison. Sometimes they directly oppose one another. More often, they differ on amendments, emphases or nuances.

A general rule of thumb: The 17 lobbying offices have little power when they are in sharp disagreement. But when most of the 17 speak on an issue position in unison — or at least without any of them stating strong disagreement with each other — it is difficult for any opponent to beat them. Civil rights in the mid-1960s was one such issue. The push to end the Vietnam War had become another such issue by the early 1970s. More recently, the consensus voice from these offices helped push the passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and legislation providing for Americans with disabilities.

Providing Moral Cover for Unpopular Immigration Practices

Despite stereotypical criticism of Congress as unresponsive, it is rare to have an issue such as immigration about which Congress and the people take such starkly different positions. For nearly 20 years, polls have shown the majority of Americans wanting immigration reduced. But until two years ago, not one of the 535 U.S. senators and representatives had introduced or signed onto a bill to cut immigrant admissions; and the majority continued to vote for provisions that actually *increased* the numbers.

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The Religious Public Policy Pulpits in Washington

FAITH GROUP	OFFICE NAME	Adherents	Staff	TEL. (202)	ADDRESS	FAX (202)
American Baptist Churches	Office of Governmental Relations	1.5 mil.	4	544-3400	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	544-0277
Baptists	Joint Committee on Public Affairs	20 mil.	11	544-4226	200 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	544-2094
Catholic Church	U.S. Catholic Conference	59 mil.	24	541-3000	3211 4th Street, NW Washington, DC 20017	541-3173
Church of the Brethren	Washington Office	150 thou.	5	546-3202	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	544-5852
Episcopal Church	Washington Office	2.4 mil.	4	547-7300	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	547-4457
Friends, Society of	Friends Committee on Nat'l Legislation	100 thou.	17	547-6000	245 Second Street., NE Washington, DC 20002	547-6019
Lutheran (ELCA)	Lutheran Office for Govern'tal Affairs	5.2 mil.	7	783-7501	122 "C" Street, NW Washington, DC 20001	783-7502
Lutheran (Missouri Synod)	Ofc of Governmental Information	2.6 mil.	3	387-8001	5 Thomas Circle Washington, DC 20005	387-8027
Mennonites	Mennonite Central Committee	250 thou.	5	544-6564	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	544-2820
National Ass'n of Evangelicals	Office of Public Affairs	5 mil.	7	789-1011	1023 15th St., NW, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20005	842-0392
Nat'l Council of Churches	Washington Office	45 mil.	5	544-2350	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	NA
Presbyterian Church (USA)	Washington Office	3.8 mil.	7	543-1126	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	543-7755
Reform Judaism	Religious Action Center	1.5 mil.	18	387-2800	2027 Massachusetts Ave,NW Washington, DC 20036	667-9070
Southern Baptist Convention	Christian Life Commission	15.4 mil.	4	547-8105	505 Second St., NE Washington, DC 20002	547-8165
Unitarian Universalist Association	Washington Office	141 thou.	2	547-0254	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	544-2854
United Church of Christ	Washington Office	1.6 mil.	11	543-1517	110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	543-5994
United Methodist Church	Board of Church and Society	8.8 mil.	36	488-5600	100 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002	488-5619

Source: *Prophets and Politics: Handbook on the Washington Offices of U.S. Churches*

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On the surface, members of Congress would appear to be taking grave political risks by snubbing their constituents' will in favor of the assortment of forces favoring immigration. This risk is accentuated by the fact that most of the chief proponents and beneficiaries of high immigration seek it for less than high moral purposes. Among them are:

- industrialists seeking to keep wages down,
- operators of actual sweat shops,
- immigration lawyers seeking clientele to enhance their income,
- self-appointed ethnic leaders who are able to use increased Census numbers to bolster their status and power, even though polls show their supposed ethnic constituency often favors reduced immigration,
- land speculators and the developers who want and need immigration to drive the population growth that will run up the price of the land they own, justify and enable further development, or bail them out of past investments where they overreached demand,
- some types of federal, state and local government and "volunteer" agency employees whose jobs and prestige are connected to providing taxpayer-funded services to the foreign-born.

Were it not for the national religious lobbies, Congress might be stuck with appearing to deny the public will in favor of a small group of Americans whose motivation is "ugly and full of self-interest," in the words of former Colorado Governor Richard Lamm.

"Nearly all the religious lobbyists have opposed efforts to limit immigration in one way or another."

Members of Congress, of course, do not tout their high-immigration positions as being for the benefit of sweat-shop operators, environmental marauders or lawyers. Instead, they usually extol immigration as meeting high moral goals — humanitarian goals that have been articulated and advocated most forcefully by the religious lobby.

I surveyed the religious lobbying offices, interviewing the chief executive of most of them. I found that support for the present unprecedented level of immigration and for increasing it still further has become one of the half-dozen top priorities of the denominational lobbying offices in recent years.

Nearly all the religious lobbyists in one way or another have opposed efforts to limit immigration. That stance appears to have the highest priority among lobbyists for the American Baptists, Church of the Brethren, Catholics, Episcopalians, Friends (Quakers), Reform Jews, ELCA Lutherans and Mennonites.

What gives their advocacy even more influence is the fact that *not one* denominational lobbying operation has taken a counter position. Nor have the numerous para-church organizations (which have no organic connection to denominations) lobbied against high immigration and in favor of the public's desire for reductions. Most religious left para-church groups are assertively in favor of high immigration. Most of the groups of the religious right have tended to stay out of the debate; although their constituents almost certainly share the general public's limitationist views, the leaders of the conservative religious groups tend to favor the supposedly conservative economic views espoused by proponents of cheap-labor, high immigration policies.

Thus, when Congress hears the national voices claiming to represent Americans' deep and widespread religious commitments, it hears them singing a single tune that extols the moral imperative of continuing high immigration.

Yet, public opinion polls indicate that the people in the pews of the local congregations of most of the national religious leaders strongly desire reduced immigration. The polling has been broad and does not ascertain the views within individual faith groups. But it has provided a clear picture of Catholics and of Protestants as a whole (the two groups which contain most Americans). The findings: both Catholics and Protestants oppose current immigration policies as too high; there is little difference in the opinions of the two groups; they are significantly *more* apt to object to immigration than Americans who call themselves non-religious.

Lobbyists' Accountability to Grass Roots Members

In a truly democratic society, the churches' offices would be most effective when they represented the informed Christian consciences of the people in the pews. Most churches' Washington offices proudly state that their work is the result of democratic

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process within their denominations.

In fact, most Washington offices are part of elaborate denominational structures in which authority eventually can be traced back to the members in their local congregations. But the accountability lines can get terribly tangled — at least in the mind of somebody trying to follow them.

When one studies the accountability structures, it is immediately apparent that there is a kind of semi-democracy for most of the offices, not a form most people would be likely to recognize from the secular political world.

The Catholic office doesn't even claim to represent parish members in a democratic sense. It is an arm of the bishops who answer only to the Pope.

All other Washington offices, though, do claim to operate in a democratic system that begins with the grassroots church members. But they're not talking about New England town meeting democracy, nor the kind in which citizens vote directly for their leaders at local, state and federal levels.

"...most members in the pews have no idea of the lobbying done on their behalf in Washington."

In the churches, the system is more akin to what it would be like if people voted for county officials and then those elected would join with officials of other counties to elect state legislators, who would in turn combine with other states' legislators to choose the members of Congress, who would then elect a big committee, which would elect a smaller committee which would actually oversee a government department. The link between that department and the original voters would be tenuous, indeed. In most church systems, grassroots members vote only for the lowest level representatives. Most church democracy is more akin to the way officials were elected in the early days of our country when the common people were felt to be too poorly informed to directly elect national leaders. The Electoral College system for electing the president formerly worked roughly this way.

To point this out is to point out reality and not necessarily to contend that the structures ought to work any other way. The system functions to prevent church teachings and witness from being whipsawed by shallow popular whims and emotions. Few of even the most ardent grassroots activists would suggest that the will of God in public affairs cab be discerned solely through popular vote. But for any church member or congregation wishing to effect such discernment, beware; the system is a tough one to influence.

Naturally, any time a church lobbying office takes a position on a public issue, it is going to offend some of the denomination's members. It is not uncommon for lobbies to take a position that a large minority or even a narrow majority of grassroots members oppose. But it is rare for the church lobbyists to oppose such a large majority of members on such a major issue as immigration. Part of the reason lobbyists are able to do so without being flooded with phone calls and letters may be that their advocacy has tended to be on smaller pieces of the immigration issue. Until the last year, no comprehensive restrictive immigration legislative proposal even existed, so the religious lobbyists have not had to make full and clear statements in favor of bringing in more than a million foreign workers and their families each year. Rather, they merely have opposed many smaller provisions that might have limited the numbers of legal and illegal admissions and they have supported efforts to increase one category or another of foreign entrants.

A second reason the religious lobbyists have been able to operate in such opposition to their constituents' interest is that most members in their local pews have no idea of what lobbying is done in their behalf in Washington.

Networking Increases Influence

The United Methodist Building — a triangular building wedged strategically almost between the Supreme Court and the Capitol — is "Ground Zero" for church lobbying.

Nine of the 17 faith group advocacy organizations are housed here in a building constructed in 1923 after the Methodists invented the concept of the Washington religious lobbying office in 1916. The nine are: the American Baptist Churches, Church of the Brethren, Episcopal Church, Mennonite Central Committee, National Council of Churches, Presbyterian Church, United Church of

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Christ, United Methodist Church and Unitarian-Universalist Association.

James A. Reichley of the Brookings Institution says the building initially served as the "nerve center for Prohibition forces." Professor and author Allen D. Hertzke says the building is now the nerve center for peace and justice efforts of Protestant churches and spin-off groups associated with the most liberal political witness in Washington.

Much of the building originally was filled with apartments designed for retired Methodist ministers. Through the years, one apartment after another has been converted to activist use. Most of the offices have a no-frills, cluttered, musty and dim feel of spartan 1970s grassroots activism. The several dozen non-church organizations located here are one reason why an assessment of the church offices alone tends to underestimate their impact on Capitol Hill. The building directory lists such organizations as Churches for Middle East Peace, Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, Lawyers Committee on Human Rights, or the Washington Office on Haiti, to name a few. A fair number of these non-church groups were started by one or more of the church offices to specialize in an issue already getting some denominational attention.

The denominational offices interact with the spin-off groups in various ways, including giving money, staff time, placing people on their boards of directors and using their published material. The groups raise a lot of money independently and tend to be far less encumbered by structures of accountability than the denominational offices. Severe critics consider the spin-offs to be little more than money-laundering and accountability-avoiding operations. Supporters see them as a creative way for churches to multiply their effectiveness and broaden constituencies. Because so many activists are housed under one roof, the Methodist Building is a breeding ground for coalitions that can spring up overnight to react to specific legislation and events.

(Interestingly, among the occupants of the remaining apartments in the Methodist Building are the Georgia Baptist and Republican Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich; Methodist Sen. Howell Heflin (D-AL); and the parents of Democratic Vice President Al Gore.)

Most of the other religious lobbying offices are scattered around Capitol Hill, but the U.S. Catholic Conference — arguably the most powerful religious lobbyist for high immigration — is housed in a much more modern, spacious and remote site. On grounds near Catholic University a couple of miles north of the Capitol, the Catholic lobbyists work in a five-story, 170,000-gross-square-feet structure. When the lobbyists look out their windows, the dome they see is that of the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

"Most of the Washington religious office staffs get nervous when the word 'lobby' is used to describe the way they promote public policy."

The move toward having formal religious lobbying structures in Washington has been a slow one. The Catholics began in 1919, shortly after the Methodists. Faith groups often began their operations in part as a way to counteract the influence of other religious groups. The Baptist Joint Committee started in 1936 to check some of the growing power of the Catholics in Washington. The National Association of Evangelicals took up residence in 1942 to provide a counterforce to the more liberal mainline Protestants. The pacifist Friends operation began in 1943 in part to make sure something other than "Just War" religious influence was being exerted. As the Religious Right gained prominence in the 1970s, the liberal Episcopal Church leadership finally established an office on the Hill. The conservative Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod opened shop in 1985 to make sure officials heard Lutheran voices other than the liberal ones from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. The Southern Baptists decided in 1989 that the Baptist Joint Committee wasn't conservative enough and began its separate lobbying office.

Church-State Questions

Most of the Washington religious office staffs get nervous when the word "lobby" is used to describe the way they promote public policy. They don't want to be confused with technical lobbyists who have to be registered as such. They say most of their work involves educating their grassroots members as well as the public. They also fear that the

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word "lobby" sounds pejorative to many church members and that lobbying is somehow an unseemly activity for church people. There also is fear of stirring up opposition from people outside the churches. For many people outside of faith groups, such religious activity on public policy violates church-state separation.

But even though lobbying may not occupy a sufficient percentage of time to raise questions about their tax status, most Washington church offices fit one of the Congressional Quarterly's definitions of a lobbyist: "...any organization or person that carries on activities which have as their ultimate aim to influence the decisions of Congress, of the state and local legislatures, or of government administrative agencies."

Lutheran advocate Robert E. Van Deusen taught members to stop using the language of "separation of church and state," saying it essentially is a negative concept. The concept properly ensures that the church and state remain separate entities, not infringed on by the other, he said. "But it does not deal with the corollary question of what positive relationship they shall bear to each other." Van Deusen encouraged Lutherans to emphasize the principle of protecting the autonomy and integrity of the church and its freedom to witness. In other words, the point of separation of church and state is to ensure religious freedom.

The Baptist Joint Committee is a top warrior at the capital in advocating the separation of church and state, vehemently opposing any church organization gaining the power to dictate governmental policy. But the agency also battles against all government efforts to restrict churches' ability to try to influence policy and individuals' right to express their faith through citizenship.

The Southern Baptists find ludicrous the suggestion that the Constitution restricts churches from participating in the political process: "All the restrictions are on government, not on individual Baptists or other Americans of religious faith ... There would have been no abolitionist and anti-slavery movement ... child labor reform ... civil rights movement without the moral imperative provided by people of religious conviction."

The Catholic bishops have pronounced: "The national debate is not enhanced by ignoring or ruling out the contributions of citizens because their convictions are grounded in religious belief. What we seek is not a religious interest group, but a community of conscience within the larger society, testing public life on these central values ... to lift up the moral and human dimensions of public issues for our own community and for the broader society."

Competing Principles

The religious lobbies' advocacy of high immigration is influenced, above all else, by the preaching of *rights* by 17 Washington-based public policy pulpits. Part of this emphasis may result from the way many of the offices achieved their greatest stature by working on Civil Rights during the 1960s. Recently, they have given top priority to pushing Congress to expand rights and protections of rights for indigenous American peoples, convicted murderers, women, blacks, and ethnic, linguistic, religious and other minorities. *Responsibilities* of the individual to the community get little attention from the religious lobbyists. Immigration issues tend to be considered within the context of rights: the rights of refugees, illegal aliens and other immigrants to move as they desire, have free schooling, obtain welfare, etc.

"Surprisingly, most of these pro-immigration religious lobbying offices represent denominations that have long held strong views in support of labor and environmental concerns."

Surprisingly, most of these pro-immigration religious lobbying offices represent denominations that long have held strong views in support of labor and environmental concerns. And the offices have given priority attention to the rising number of children in poverty due to the inability of their parents to earn enough to support them. Yet, these same offices have given little attention to causes of the two-decade decline in non-supervisory wages for Americans. The causes of wage depression are complicated, but a swelling labor force with the addition of hundreds of thousands of low-skilled foreign workers each year surely does not help lower-skilled American workers or their children. There is

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no sign that the supposed pro-labor religious offices have weighed these concerns in competition with their virtually unqualified support for the "right" of immigration.

Similarly, all denominations speak of the importance of good stewardship for God's creation, and some are assertively pro-environment in their advocacy. Several of the denominations even have official national policies advocating U.S. population stabilization. But no Washington office has given priority attention to U.S. population growth, nor has any struggled with the role of immigration as *the* primary component of population growth in the United States, which in turn is the primary ingredient driving additional environmental degradation in this country.

Since members in the pews have not forced the issue, Washington religious lobbying offices made immigration the de facto top priority, taking precedence over all labor, environmental and child poverty concerns.

Lobbying the Lobbyists

Members of churches and synagogues who would like their national religious leadership to re-examine its stance on immigration have two or three major options:

(1) They can work through the structure of their denomination, trying to influence the election of representatives and the approval of resolutions at local, regional and national levels. This is a long, slow, arduous task.

(2) They can communicate directly to the Washington lobbying offices (see phone numbers and addresses in the table on page 161), providing information and suggestions about a more balanced weighing of immigration concerns with competing ones about labor, children, environment, the underclass and cities.

(3) They can register concerns about the lobbying office priorities with the religious officials to whom the lobbyists are accountable (though some offices are not accountable to a higher office). Listed below are the phone numbers and addresses for the national denominational offices responsible for the lobbying operations:

- American Baptist Churches, P.O. Box 851, Valley Forge, PA 19482 (610) 768-2077.
- Church of the Brethren, 1451 Dundee Ave., Elgin, IL 60120 (708) 742-5100.
- Episcopal Church, 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017 (212) 922-5205.
- Lutheran Church (ELCA), 8765 W. Higgins Road, Chicago, IL 60631 (312) 380-2700.
- Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod), 1333 S. Kirkwood, St. Louis, MO 63122 (314) 965-9000.
- Mennonite Central Committee, Box 500, Akron, PA 17501 (717) 859-1151.
- National Association of Evangelicals, 450 Gundersen Dr., Carol Stream, IL 60188 (708) 665-0500.
- National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2511.
- Presbyterian Church (USA), 100 Witherspoon St., Louisville, KY 50202 (502) 569-5000.
- Southern Baptist Convention, 901 Commerce St., Suite 750, Nashville, TN 37203 (615) 244-2355.
- United Church of Christ, 700 Prospect Ave. East, Cleveland, OH 44115 (216) 736-2100. ■

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David Simcox, a Roman Catholic, is a former foreign service officer, and was the first executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) where he now serves as a senior fellow. Mr. Simcox has recently formed a think tank, Migration Demographics, headquartered in Louisville, Kentucky.

The Catholic Church's War on Borders

By David Simcox

The Catholic Church has developed an elaborate theology of immigration since World War II, and along with this an abundance of moral-political prescriptions it promotes to secular governments for dealing with immigration. These norms have been enunciated by the Vatican, and even more energetically by The Catholic Bishops' Conference (NCCB) here in the United States.

The Church has virtually sacralized immigration, proclaiming it as a "sacrament of unity," a process through which the Holy Spirit moves the world toward greater brotherhood. Migration, the Church preaches, witnesses to God's goodness, promotes the unity of the human family, and offers Christians a ministry of love and service to the stranger among us.

Human dignity, as the Church defines it, becomes a critical litmus test of the moral legitimacy of national responses to immigration pressures, just as it has been in Church judgments of other population and reproductive policies. The innate dignity of human beings entitles them to seek work in other lands and to be joined by their families there. This prerogative has in recent decades come to take precedence in Church teaching over the rights of nation-states to protect their borders.

The Church's concept of migrants' rights has moved closer to the absolute since Vatican II. Papal statements in the 1950s at least recognized the need to reconcile the right to migrate with national concern for the common good, as expressed in the regulation of immigration. That prudent approach is heard less now, Since Vatican II, and particularly in the thinking of John Paul II and the U.S. Bishops, any conditions on the right of migrants to cross national borders in search of work or to join family members have all but vanished. In the words of Los Angeles' Cardinal Roger Mahony:

> *Catholic social teaching takes what many view to be a counter-cultural position on this matter and insists that the right to immigrate is more fundamental than that of nations to control their borders.*[1]

Oddly, a statement of the Catholic Bishops in late 1994 claimed that "the Catholic Church has long recognized the right and obligation of nations to control their borders and create systems regulating immigration." The statement, particularly in asserting states' "obligation" to control borders, suggest a departure from existing doctrine. But the statement cited no authority for this uncharacteristic position, nor has the concept figured in more recent angry Church discourse on proposition 187 or legal immigration reform.[2]

The Church's cosmic image of migration as a celestially sanctioned human right, not surprisingly, crimps the debate on immigration regulation for many policy makers, conservationists, advocates of a sound environment and high labor standards, and among millions of ordinary Catholics of good faith. Disputing the Holy Spirit and the Magisterium of a 2000-year old institution is, for many, an intimidating venture.

Moral Imperatives and Institutional Interests

The Church's stress on immigration as a moral imperative has practical as well as mystical roots. Organizational politics, institutional self-interest, and the desire to maximize utility are hard at work. Migration is central to the Church's history of recovery and growth following its losses from the Reformation and the secession of the Church of England. The catholization by Spain, France and

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Portugal of much of the Western Hemisphere in the 16th and 17th centuries was essentially a work of colonization and migration.

The current immigration mentality of the Church has been deeply influenced by its experiences in the 19th century. In that epoch of mass migration, Catholic-sending nations such as Ireland, Italy and Central Europe populated regions in the Western Hemisphere that were either sparsely populated or heavily Protestant. The most important country of settlement, the United States, was neither heavily Catholic nor culturally congenial to Catholicism.

Catholic immigrants of that era were thus religious pioneers who, though beleaguered and isolated in the host nations, were creating bridgeheads for the spread of the faith in the New World. The Church views itself as having accompanied its sons and daughters in their wanderings. The growth of large Catholic communities in nations where the Church's presence had been weak or non-existent has, for the Church, imbued immigration with a providential character, seemingly a manifestation of God's plan working itself out in the world.

Spiritual and institutional interests have prospered together. Through immigration and high fertility, the Church acquired an important new treasure: a community of nearly 60 million souls and contributors in the United States, the World's richest nation. Such temporal power and financial strength counts for a great deal, even in a belief system valuing humility and self-abnegation.

"Since the late 1950s ... the 'common good' of receiving states has been increasingly soft pedaled and in some instances rejected outright."

But during the 19th century the papacy's outlook on world immigration policy differed from what it is today. The Church's priority mission was to serve spiritually the Catholic immigrants in their new homelands, protect them to the extent possible from discrimination and anti-Catholic hostility, and — in the U.S. — ensure their cultural survival in an overwhelmingly Protestant milieu.[3] The U.S. parochial school system is a response to early Catholic feelings that the public schools were expressions of Protestant culture.

Absent then were papal policies asserting the human right of free immigration for all the moral obligation of states to acquiesce in the individual immigration choices of millions. The open immigration policies of the United States and some other major host nations in the 19th century made such special claims unnecessary.

In the 1910s and 1920s Catholic groups, such as the Knights of Columbus and ethnic brotherhoods, fought the mounting restrictionist sentiment. But there is no record of papal opposition to the Johnson-Reed act of 1921 or other major restrictive actions, nor any high-level intimations that such immigration policies contravened God's will.

Radicalization Since World War II

Circumstances in Europe after World War II had much to do with the radicalization of the Catholic Church's teaching on the primacy of immigrants' rights. Major migrations were taking place from the heavily Catholic, labor-surplus countries (Spain, Italy, Portugal and Yugoslavia) to nations such as Germany, Switzerland, France, and the Scandinavian countries, which perceived themselves as labor deficient. Europe was still awash with displaced persons scattered by the war.

It is in this setting that Pius XII issued "Exsul Familia." This 1952 document explicitly identified emigration, immigration and family reunification as basic human rights. Worth noting is that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in that same period also enshrined the freedom to travel and the right of emigration as fundamental.[4] But a series of diplomatic objections by the U.S. and other Western countries in the negotiations had blocked the treaty from asserting a comparable right to immigrate.

Since the late 1950s, in subsequent teaching documents of the Vatican and other magisterial bodies within the Church, the "common good" of receiving states has been increasingly soft-pedaled and in some instances rejected outright. The depreciation of the sovereignty of nation-states in migration matters has several different roots, some old, some recent.

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Three Theses

First, the Church, in the very catholicity of its name and in its outlook and mission is universalist. It has never been philosophically comfortable with the modern nation-state with its connotation of exclusion and its claims to be the ultimate community. For the Church, a main reason for the existence of states is to promote the human rights of individuals. Borders are often incompatible with human needs. Suffering this outlook is the biblical and early historical view of the Church as a cosmopolitan, multi-class, multi-cultural community for all. In the words of Paul: "there is no Greek or Jew here, circumcised or uncircumcised, foreigner, Scythian, slave or freeman. Rather, Christ is everything in all of you." (Colossians 3:11).

"In current discourse [the church] draws on writers like Julian Simon to argue that nations must welcome immigration in their own best interest..."

Another transforming factor has been demographics. In the United States and some other Western nations, falling fertility in the 1960s among long-established Catholic populations dimmed the prospects for further Church growth. Predominantly Catholic immigration from Latin America and Vietnam provided both a new ministry and a new opportunity for expansion of the flock. Immigrants, in the words of Reverend Richard Ryscavage of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, are the "growing edge" of the Church, as they were in the 19th century, and the "assurance of the Church's health in the 21st century.[5]

A final tenet in the Church's open border vision is its faith in cornucopian economics as a response to issues of population growth and resource depletion. In current discourse it draws on writers like Julian Simon to argue that nations must welcome immigration in their own best interest, as it enriches economically as well as culturally and spiritually. Church doctrine in the past has recognized that population in excess of resources can justify emigration. But it overlooks the corollary that excessive immigration can bring a similar imbalance to the receiving countries. Cornucopian economics, it seems, really applies only in Western industrial nations.

Changing priorities in Catholic social doctrine have also reinforced the view of immigration as a supra-national prerogative. The Church's heightened interest in social action to promote human rights to combat dehumanizing structures was both articulated in, and intensified by, the Vatican Councils of the 1960s. The U.S. Church's close exposure to Latin America conditioned its commitment to the "preferential option for the poor" proclaimed in the literature of liberation theology. Pope John Paul II has made the rights of migrants a major theme of his papacy.

This outlook readily fused with the Church's vision of its area of future growth as the Third World and its increasing identification with the anti-capitalist, anti-colonialist liberation movements in those nations. Also present is an unfolding sense of mission to address the unequal distribution of the world's wealth highlighted in the U.N.'s North-South dialogue. Open immigration into major industrial nations becomes a way of sharing wealth and balancing out past exploitation. For the U.S. "Sanctuary" movement in the 1980s, acceptance of heavy flows of immigrants and asylum seekers was a form of national atonement for real or imagined U.S. foreign policy misdeeds and economic exploitation in Latin America.

Current Battles of the American Church Against Restriction

The Church's theology of immigration takes operational form in the continuing tactical struggles of the Church against immigration restriction. Here are some of the leading skirmishes in the American hierarchy's ongoing battle:

- The Catholic Bishops opposed employer sanctions in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. In scattered areas and diverse ways Catholic religious groups have litigated unsuccessfully against sanctions as an interference with their freedom of religion. In a few cases, they have simply flouted the law. Church leaders backed a coalition of interest groups supporting the Kennedy-Hatch bill to repeal sanctions altogether. It is unclear whether that legislation will reappear in the Republican-controlled 104th Congress.

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• Church leaders and organizations were major actors in the coalition of human rights, ethnic, legal and labor groups that in 1989 and 1990 designed and pushed through the 1990 law expanding legal immigration 35 percent and creating a new category for easier humanitarian admission: "Temporary protected status." Failing to get a universal amnesty for illegal aliens in the 1986 law, Church forces and other human rights groups won a special provision for otherwise ineligible immediate relatives of legalized aliens to remain here. High on the Church's agenda now is a new amnesty for those entering since the 1982 cutoff date in the 1986 act who do not otherwise qualify.

• The Catholic Bishops' Conference consistently condemned Proposition 187. California's Catholic dioceses worked assiduously but unsuccessfully in the fall of 1994 to defeat the proposition with special mailings, appeals from the pulpit, media outreach and voter registration drives. Cardinal Mahony of Los Angeles once characterized support for the resolution as "Grave social sin." The Church remains a major actor among the groups fighting to block implementation of Proposition 187 in the courts.

• At the Cairo Conference on Population and Development, Vatican representatives worked with migrant-sending states in an attempt to establish family reunification as a basic right in the final document of the conference. They were unsuccessful in overcoming the resistance of the U.S. and other migrant-receiving nations.

• Generally, the American Church is well represented in the ad hoc coalitions that have formed to fight the current wave of what they call "anti-immigrant hysteria" and the drive for tighter controls of legal immigration, and for an end to abuse of asylum and of immigrant access to public assistance.

Recalcitrance among Lay Catholics: A "Shepherd/Flock" Gap

Polls consistently show that individual Catholic views on immigration are only modestly more supportive of generous immigration policies than those of non-Catholics. Some of the difference stems from the higher proportion of foreign born and Latinos among Catholics. But a solid majority of Catholic respondents in polls believe that immigration should go no higher or be reduced. This deviation from official Church doctrine resembles the profile of Catholic public opinion on birth control.

The vote on Proposition 187 indicated widespread resistance among the rank-and-file parishioners to the hierarchy's expansionist instincts on immigration. Overall, California Catholics, more than a third of them Hispanic, opposed 187 by 51% to 49%. But non-Hispanic white Catholics — two-thirds of all Catholic voters — favored it by 58% to 42%, roughly the measure's margin of victory statewide. The Los Angeles diocesan newspaper, *The Tidings*, saw in the results "a Catholic electorate which increasingly seems to view the statements of its pastoral and moral leaders as having little credibility and urgency."[6]

Many Catholic legislators necessarily share the pro-immigration instincts of the powerful ethnic constituencies in which they are rooted. Senator Edward Kennedy, tireless advocate of immigration expansion, particularly from Ireland, is an example. But there has been no shortage of Catholic legislators who have led or supported sound restrictionist efforts.

"The Los Angeles diocesan newspaper saw in the results [of the vote on Proposition 187] 'a Catholic electorate which increasingly seems to view the statements of its pastoral and moral leaders as having little credibility and urgency.'"

Well-known was Senator Pat McCarran, a leading Catholic layman, who co-authored the 1952 McCarran-Walter act that preserved national origins quotas and restrictions on Asian immigration. Another, Peter Rodino of New Jersey, originated employer sanctions legislation in the early 1970s, and Ron Mazzoli of Kentucky, a devout Catholic, saw that concept through to enactment in 1986. Mazzoli also favored a far more limited amnesty than Church leaders sought.

Senator Pat Moynihan, as a White House staffer, orchestrated the 1970 Rockefeller Commission on

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Population Growth, which recommended, among other measures, a freeze on immigration. Currently Moynihan plays a more passive role on immigration issues, although he supports a counterfeit-resistant social security card.

Perhaps most representative within the Church of pluralist views on immigration and the importance of separating the secular and the sacred, was the performance of Father Theodore Hesburgh as chair of the 1979 Special Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policies. Under his leadership, the commission recommended employer sanctions and an immigration ceiling more than a third lower than the present one.

Outlook: Continued Confusion Between God and Caesar

The attitudes of lay Catholics in the U.S. on population, environmental and reproductive issues have shifted inexorably away from those of the Vatican and the American hierarchy, shrugging off warnings from the pulpit against what the Church characterized as immoral or inhumane options on these issues. An insecure, impoverished and ethnic-based immigrant population at the turn of the century, American Catholics have achieved the wealth, education and self-confidence, in an increasingly crowded and environmentally threatened world, to define values for themselves.

Yet the Church's governing structure remains hierarchical, highly centralized and enduring. Changing attitudes in the pews are unlikely to profoundly influence the top leadership. The Church's name and organization clout are likely to remain indefinitely at the service of pro-natalism and immigration expansionism, with or without the assent of its millions of loyal contributors. This points up a fundamental irony in the Church's confusion of the realms of God and Caesar: the Church hierarchy has power without responsibility — Caesar, not Rome, will be accountable and responsible for the social and environmental costs of disruptions flowing from mass immigration and rapid population growth. ■

NOTES

[1] Los Angeles *Times*, October 9, 1993.

[2] *Welcoming the Stranger: A Reflection on the Current Immigration Debate.* Statement of William Cardinal Keebler, President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Washington, November 17, 1994.

[3] See "The Scalabrinian Fathers: Catholic Apostles to the World's Immigrants" by James S. Robb, in *The Social Contract*, Vol. V, No. 3, Spring 1995, p. 185-190.

[4] "UN Declaration of Human Rights," Articles 13 and 14, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948.

[5] *Catholic Standard and Times*, October 22, 1992.

[6] Los Angeles *Times*, November 20, 1994.

Swiss Back Crackdown on Illegal Immigrants

Swiss voters overwhelmingly approved a referendum today to give sweeping new powers of search, arrest and detention in dealing with asylum seekers and foreigners who enter the country illegally. The vote was almost 3 to 1 in favor of the law, which is aimed at combatting drug dealing, with 72.8 percent voting for the new measures, the Government said. In Zurich, the country's biggest drug market, 80 percent voted in favor of the law. A simple majority of the total votes cast was needed for the measure to become law.

The number of asylum seekers rose from fewer than 10,000 a year in the mid-1980s to a peak of 41,600 in 1991. Refugee groups have said the increase has contributed to an increasingly hostile reception for foreigners. The Government introduced the proposal in March in response to a rise in crimes committed by asylum seekers. The Government says people request asylum knowing they have no chance of getting it, but use the time while their cases are being processed to earn money by dealing in drugs.

— *The New York Times INTERNATIONAL*, December 5, 1994

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Robert Kyser is a retired Presbyterian Church (USA) minister and the managing editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Liberal Protestantism and Immigration

By Robert Kyser

This writer grew up in a "social gospel" Presbyterian Church on the West Side of Buffalo, N.Y. — a church that had been founded in the early 1800s as a mission to the workers at the western terminus of the Erie Barge Canal. My theological beliefs center in the sovereignty of God; in the authority of a scripture, the meaning of which has been sifted in light of modern Biblical scholarship; and in the Lordship of Jesus Christ, to be extended and expressed in service to the world.

My focus here is on the issue of liberal Protestantism and immigration to America. As I began serving local churches as a Presbyterian pastor in 1952, World War II was a recent memory and calls came from every denomination's national headquarters to serve the needs of refugees and to help rebuild church infrastructure in Europe. Most of this assistance took the form of special fund-raising so that specific needs could be met overseas.

But the mainline churches, and American society in general, had also come through the war effort assuming that pre-war animosities were to be abandoned in favor of a pot of melted cultures. Prior to the war, the Protestant churches were quite proud of their Old World roots and protective of their particular ethnic reading of the Christian tradition. The postwar curriculum in my denomination, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), devoted a major segment to teaching confirmands about the Ulster connection — Scots-Irish Presbyterians who migrated to the American colonies from the late 1600s on and played a significant role in the anti-monarchy movement of the American Revolution and in the formation of the new republic. I'm sure this was equally true of the Methodists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Congregationalists and others who were part of the immigrant stream in the early days of our country.

The predominantly British origins of the early Americans helped create the climate of disdain and rejection which greeted the Irish Catholics who migrated here after 1840. When a Northern Michigan congregation I served prepared to celebrate its centennial, we asked the Presbyterian Historical Society for copies of early correspondence between the Board of Foreign Missions and a teacher-missionary sent to work in the 1850s among the local Indians. Mr. Porter's description of the "satanic" machinations of the neighboring French-speaking priests among his "beloved Indian children" was an embarrassment to current sensibilities.

Helping the Immigrants

Many Americans viewed the "new immigrants" of the late 1800s and early 1900s — immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe — as diluting and mongrelizing the WASP character of American/Christian society. The restrictionist stance of such a prominent preacher as Harry Emerson Fosdick is indicative of a climate of restriction that prevailed among many church people in the early part of this century:

> *I am a restrictionist in immigration because I am not a sentimentalist.... How can a man who faces the facts fail to see two things: first, that so far as this country is concerned, we cannot handle the problem physically or morally if, with the population of the globe multiplying itself by two every sixty years, we open our gates freely to the teeming peoples, and second, that if we should it would not solve any other people's problems.*[1]

At the same time there were more practical motivations at work among other Christian believers who organized themselves to minister to the migrants, once here, to make them into English-speaking, hard-working, clean-living participants in the American

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dream. The settlement house movement is a chapter in American church history that should not be forgotten. In the course of my seminary education (1950-53) we were urged to accept "field work" which meant working as assistants in the churches of the Chicago area. I was assigned to a "neighborhood house" on the near North side where most of the clients were from Italian immigrant homes, though there were many intermarriages with longer-standing Irish residents. The mission of the settlement house, as developed in Chicago by Jane Addams at Hull House, was to help neighborhood families adjust to American life with classes in English, nutrition, child care and home-making along with recreational and sports programs for the young.

In 1921, the famous Methodist theologian Georgia Harkness presented as her master's thesis a training manual for church folk recruited for this special ministry. Her tone was both restrictive and constructive:

> *The attitude we have adopted toward the new immigrant has varied as widely as the American temperament. Many have churlishly advocated the exclusion of all immigrants for the benefit of the American workman. Others, moved by sentiment rather than sense, have urged us to fling wide the doors and take in everybody. The terms of entry which we may rightfully impose upon the immigrant ... are determined by the requirements of public safety, public health, and public order.*[2]

One pauses in the chronology here to ask: "What happened — what transition has taken place over the past 40 years that such practical measures toward immigrants and immigration have been turned inside out?" Our religious mission to aid the Americanization of the newcomers has turned from pride in an open society of melted cultures into an embarrassed surrender to the maintenance of ethnic enclaves, as though we had been doing the wrong thing in urging the newcomers to adapt. The requirements for citizenship have been severely diluted and we find the social action offices of our major denominations advocating language rights and cultural maintenance, on our behalf.[3] Perhaps we will find some answers as we move along in the story.

Because of their affinity for the Presbyterian system, many Hungarian refugees who came to the United States after their failed revolution of 1956 affiliated with Presbyterian Churches. My home church in Buffalo (a working class congregation of Scots and Scots-Irish, situated in a then-predominantly Italian neighborhood) had a Hungarian refugee, Rev. Harsanyi, as pastor for some time. He was followed by Renato Alden, an Italian-immigrant pastor whose father, a Scot, had married while serving the British Embassy in Rome.

1965 — The Watershed

My inner-city background is hardly typical of the mainline Protestant experience of contact with émigrés. The majority of our churches are in the small towns and on the rural crossroads of America. I served small congregations in Southern Michigan for several years and then moved to a newly formed church in the suburban sprawl outside Detroit. That was during the '50s when the Baby Boomers were building up congregations with their large families. During those years, refugees and immigrants were people on another side of the planet to be helped with contributions through Church World Service, the inter-denominational relief agency of the National Council of Churches.

"The mission to Americanize the migrants changed to an advocacy to protect their cultural enclaves."

Then, in 1965, U.S. immigration laws were drastically revised. Urban churches changed their programs to minister to large numbers of new arrivals. Worship and education materials were developed for Spanish-speakers and Koreans. The mission to Americanize the migrants changed to an advocacy to protect their cultural enclaves.

During the Vietnam War, churches struggled between patriotic affirmations and sympathy for the protesters. We thought long and hard about "establishments" and "generation gaps." In the war's aftermath came refugees and then "boat people," but also the guilt of a supposedly wrong-headed involvement in a devastating military engagement. The present day generation of leaders was educated in a climate of rebellion against the establishment.

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American flags came out of many sanctuaries and the mission turned to victims — victims of war, of poverty, of abuse and neglect, of political oppression, of economic upheaval, of racism, of sexism — as sincere believers looked for ways to express their faith in concrete actions.

The Church/Government Connection

As we think about the waves of immigrants that have come from Mexico, Cuba, Haiti and Southeast Asia it's helpful to know how much the federal establishment depends on church agencies for resettlement work. After a political decision is made to admit people to the U.S., the government asks the various national denominational offices to assume responsibility for settling them. Next, the call goes out to local pastors and churches: "Please help. Won't you ask your congregation to sponsor a refugee family?" And we did. Our Detroit congregation sponsored newlyweds from Budapest who had escaped from behind the Iron Curtain during their honeymoon trip. We rented a house for them, provided basic housekeeping items, assisted with jobs and English classes. After six months they moved to a Hungarian enclave in Chicago where they could associate with more of their countrymen.

"The congregation, by a close vote, decided to say 'no.' And it was not 'burnout' or a turn away from compassion."

After the fall of Saigon, the congregation I serve in Northern Michigan agreed to sponsor three young men who had worked with the Americans and were taken out with the evacuees. We found families to take them in, helped them with jobs and English language tutors. Within a year they had gravitated to warmer climates since there is a considerable difference between average temperatures in Vietnam and Northern Michigan.

But when the "boat people" started to arrive and the contacts from the national office came again, the congregation voted narrowly to say "no."[4] And it was not "burnout" or a turn away from compassion. It was a realization that the process could not keep going as it was; some other way had to be found to assist the unfortunates where they were. The nation and its churches simply could not continue to accept the huge numbers of Third World people who wanted to make a new start in life by moving to the United States.

By and large church people want their better nature appealed to. They may not always follow the dicta of their leadership, but they do expect appeals to their caring nature. But as the expansionist social programs come down from denominational headquarters, church members frequently have to choose — and often they are presented a choice between altruism and their livelihood.

The church bureaucracies have their share of what one could call "tenured radicals" (a university campus appellation) and we can see how that happens. A priest or pastor comes to be known in the congregation and region (diocese or presbytery or classis) as a champion for a particular cause. And perhaps that leader rides this "hobby" so much that a local congregation can no longer put up with it. The palatable solution for such passion is to move this person up into the bureaucracy where one can specialize in preparing educational materials, drafting pronouncements and lobbying. Thus it is that denominational leaders, especially in the fields of social action, are often detached from — or even opposed to — their constituents.

Most church members are unaware that since World War II, a working relationship has developed between the State Department and denominational (including Jewish) resettlement structures to work out funds, numbers and placement strategies. This is a two-way street: there can be pressure from a Jewish refugee resettlement organization to accept more Soviet Jews, for example, or from Catholic or Lutheran groups to accept people about whom they are concerned. Church members at large are doubtless unaware that the migrant numbers can be pushed upward by a few persons speaking on their behalf.

Who Speaks For You?

This is equally true of the lobbying offices that most religious groups maintain in the nation's capital.[5] Obviously most members of churches are unaware that church lobbyists testify before members of Congress, that they speak for so many million Presbyterians, or Lutherans or Catholics, and urge that the immigrant or refugee or asylee quotas be bumped up. Congressional staffers can accept the inference of

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unanimity as true when in actuality the bulk of those church members may not agree, or even have any idea that they are being represented in such fashion. The recent vote in California on Proposition 187 is a case in point. Most church establishments urged their constituents to vote against the proposition. The vote itself showed a resolve (on the part of many presumably sincere church members) to restrict migration by reducing the benefits-pull and making the federal government more responsive to the tax burden placed by immigrants on local communities.

One week after the election, an open letter dated November 14, 1994 asked Governor Pete Wilson to reverse the executive order by which he had begun to implement the provisions of Proposition 187. The letter was signed "on behalf of our 49 million constituent members" by the General Secretary and the President of the National Council of Churches. How many mainline pastors across the country shared that information with their parishioners?

No Simple Choices

At first blush it seems like a gross miscarriage of Christian justice to suggest that immigrant numbers be limited but other values must be taken into account. Six areas of policy need to be reconsidered by the churches:

1. **The abuse of asylum**. When a serious situation erupts somewhere in the world and various countries are asked to accept their share of the victims who genuinely need asylum, it is incumbent on us as compassionate Christians to help victims in *some* way. But a closer examination of current practice reveals that asylum is being terribly abused in many cases. People no longer in danger (if they ever were) are arriving and being coached to ask for asylum, since that ploy puts them in a legal category that virtually guarantees their immediate release onto the streets. For the sake of the very definition of compassion, we need to recover the true meaning of asylum. Others stay after the danger has passed, when they should return home. Asylum should generally be temporary, not permanent.

2. **The plight of our own unemployed — blacks, whites and others**. Church people should remember their commitments to our own poor. For instance, just as blacks were getting a foothold on the economic ladder in 1965, immigration law changes opened the gates to immigrant workers. At the very time when post-World War II attitude changes and civil rights laws began to open employment for blacks, immigration numbers increased radically and cut steadily into job opportunities. As concerned Christians we should keep the well-being of our own poor as a top priority.

3. **Population growth**. The Presbyterian Church responded to Earth Day by urging the stabilization of U.S. population and advocating the use of national resources to encourage family planning throughout the world. Yet the population of the U.S. has climbed dramatically since 1970, with over half the increase attributable to immigrants and their offspring. Every congregation's officer corps and adult study network should view and discuss the video *It's About Time: Population and People of Faith*, produced by the Institute for Development Training, Box 2522, Chapel Hill, NC, (919) 967-0563, FAX (919) 929-2353.

"If the growth in population threatens our carrying capacity, and that growth is due to immigration, then limiting immigration becomes part of the effort to preserve the environment."

4. **The environment**. The other major concern for Protestant adherents which emerged from Earth Day is the fate of the earth. Churches reexamined their theologies and developed programs to cut consumption and reduce waste. We must teach a love for the planet and elicit a commitment to future generations, but we must not fail to see the discrepancy in advocating increasing numbers of immigrants while at the same time calling for preservation of our environment. If the growth in population threatens our carrying capacity, and that growth is due to immigration, then limiting immigration becomes part of the effort to preserve the environment.

5. **Sanctuary**. The sanctuary movement used churches and church people as a ploy to change U.S. policies in Central America. We need to own up to the

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downside of a strategy that undermines the rule of law. Illegals are illegal, and an affront to the many legal immigrants who wait in line and proceed according to the rules.

6. **The true meaning of sponsorship**. When congregations sign up to sponsor an immigrant or immigrant family, they should accept full responsibility for the care of these people so that they do not become a burden to the state. We should be ashamed to sign newcomers up for public assistance. It amounts to taking resources from the other taxpayers in our communities without their permission, as a way to satisfy our need to perform a good deed. That the State Department encourages the resettlement agencies to use these avenues doesn't make it right.

As a professional in liberal Protestant churches over four decades, I have been proud to serve among compassionate, generous, committed people. When called upon to help with emergencies, they have done so with high spirits. But there are dilemmas, conflicting values, and hard choices to be made. The earth cannot sustain the ever-growing human populations and the United States cannot continue to absorb the numbers of migrants, legal and illegal, who are entering now.

It is time to rethink our stance. ■

NOTES

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[4] The change was due in no small measure to the discussion points scored by the editor and publisher of this journal.

[5] Beck, Roy, op.cit.

"USA-187" is a national campaign which seeks to educate the public about the problems associated not only with illegal immigration (as did the California 187 ballot initiative) but high levels of legal immigration as well. A project of the Foundation for Optimal Planetary Survival (FOPS), there are now contact people in over 20 states.

USA-187 buttons are available (1 1/4" red/white/blue) in bulk at 100 for $21.00. The eye-catching buttons are a unifying symbol of the concept that we are no longer an empty frontier nation, but are instead rapidly losing our natural resources. Further immigration is a threat to our quality of life.

For information about the campaign, and to order buttons, write to:

SuSu Levy, President
Foundation for Optimal Planetary Survival
8776 E. Shea #B3A-207
Scottsdale, AZ 85260

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Edward Levy is a professor of music at Stern College, Yeshiva University in New York City. He is a long-time activist on population matters and a member of the advisory board of FAIR (the Federation for American Immigration Reform).

Jewish Attitudes Toward Immigration

By Edward Levy

Like Bugsy Siegel, Julian Simon is Jewish. This elegantly disposes of the notion that Jews are necessarily bringers of light; although heeding Simon could cause greater harm than was done by all of history's Hitlers combined — relating his positions to his ethnicity is fatuous. Such cause-and-effect generalizing, always slippery, is particularly so in regard to Jews.

Jewish Identity

Judaism is, of course, a religion; but neither religious practice nor belief defines membership in the group. Indeed, among the approximately 5.6 million Jews in America and 13 million in the world, religious commitment covers a spectrum with at least ten broad categories of more to less observant: Chasidic, Orthodox, Conservative, Reconstructionist, Reform, non-observant, Jews for Jesus, non-believer, anti-religious and none of the above. And all of these categories contain varying shades of right wings, centers and left wings.

And Jews are not a "race." Skin color, for example, varies from black (Ethiopians) to swarthy (Mediterraneans) to white (northern Europeans). And a current dilemma for Israel is that certain Asiatic Indians and Nigerians assert eligibility for entry claiming they are descended from the lost tribes of Biblical times.[1]

Officially, you are Jewish if your mother is or if you convert properly. Many Jews choose to follow Jewish teachings; but to cover the entire spectrum, the closest definition I can give is that you are Jewish if you consider yourself to be; if someone, usually a parent, tells you that you are; and if others treat you as if you are. Most Jews accept their own — and others' — Jewishness.

Almost all Jews, however, share a sense of national history. Unique defining events are (1) the receiving of the Torah, which others may "accept" but only the Jews "receive," and (2) the destruction of the temples and the resulting diaspora, where, despite dispersion as minorities among a variety of majorities, Jews retained their group identity even while sub-groups in different locations developed different physical and behavioral characteristics. This group identity held despite varying rates of acculturation, ranging from total (either enforced or voluntary) ghettoization to the virtually total assimilation of those German Jews who felt "more German than Jewish" until Hitler objected. And it held despite a "sibling rivalry" that engenders antipathies within the group (for an over-generalized example: rich Jews look down on poor ones, northern Jews look down on southern ones and German Jews look down on everyone), but resents criticism from outsiders.

Other events are significant for but not necessarily unique to the Jews: (1) a continuity of persecution that has lasted for more than two millennia — from ancient Egypt through the Crusades and other pogroms to the Nazi holocaust, (2) the existence of the United States, and (3) the establishment of Israel as a state.

A Jewish View

However, different denominations view Jewish history, and therefore current issues, differently. The more Orthodox are apt to be more politically conservative, tend to see immigration within the context of a long view, while references to more recent events like the Nazi holocaust continually bleed into the views of the less orthodox.[2] Finding a consensus for the entire spectrum, then, is problematic. Although official statements probably reflect Jewish thinking in general, three caveats should be kept in mind.

First, from two Jews you get three opinions. Second, a position definable as "Jewish" has to consider only those with strong Jewish affiliations and eliminate those whose views are unaffected by their Jewishness. And third, committed Jews assign immigration a low priority and thus are as ignorant, and therefore as unworried, about it as others are.

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That understood, the overall generalization would be that the present is neglected in favor of a strong sense of tradition that still clings to approaches that were valid and valuable in the past, regardless of how appropriate they may be today.

Four Cornerstones

Cornerstone One: Individuality

Jews value individuality and are selective about authority. Some revere a chief rabbi; but generally disputes among rabbis may outdo even those among economists. Respect for individuality is supported by the concept that killing one person destroys a whole world. This leads to a focus on the "human interest" angle so favored by TV and to the concomitant neglect of large-scale immigration as a problem.

"One basic cornerstone for recommending less immigration today is the recognition that the number of actual and potential immigrants is too large..."

Race is rarely an issue. Rather, the idea is that immigration laws should be blind to ethnicity, and consider only the potential contribution of each individual. Kant's imperative: "What if millions of people want to do the same thing?" is not acknowledged. However, more common is the idea of Jewish exceptionalism. One perspective is that their long history of suffering should free Jews from whatever constraints are applied to others. Another is that their persecutions make Jews more sympathetic to others' suffering. Either way, a Jewish view of immigration sometimes means that Jews should be favored; but the preference is that constraints on everyone should be minimal.

One basic cornerstone for recommending less immigration today is the recognition that the number of actual and potential immigrants is too large, that the accumulated needs of so many individuals results in masses of people, and that these masses, in turn, eradicate individuality. The previously positive Jewish focus on individuals tends, then, to become a blind spot today because it ignores the question of massive numbers. Thus, this cornerstone for wanting less immigration is missing.

Cornerstone Two: Kinship and Limits

Crises blur small differences. The centuries-long systematic exclusion of Jews from mainstream societies precisely because they were Jews has, as a survival technique, brought Jews together into a kinship group. Thus, like the Biblical prophets, today's committed Jews fear assimilation as the most crucial attack on continued Jewish survival. This sense of unity leads Jews, like other ethnic groups, to care for their own, pressing for them to be accepted as immigrants. The preference is for migrants, especially Russian Jews, to go to Israel, where assimilation would be, not a loss of Jewish identity, but a way to rekindle their Jewishness, and thus their oneness with themselves and their people. But if Israel is not chosen, the next best choice is the United States, with its lack of systematic, government-sanctioned anti-semitism, its protection of individuals' rights, its laws against ethnic bias, and its tolerance for individual religious choices. The Talmudic concept of being for yourself but not for yourself alone would be interpreted as: if I want something, I must support the right of others to have it, too. Jewish advocacy groups might, then, like to ignore other ethnic lobbies; but if the way to get Jews in is to get others in too, then so be it.

Thus, one more cornerstone for recommending decreased immigration is missing, for nowhere is it acknowledged that the country as an entity is obliged to serve its own citizens in a fair and impartial way and that the country in its entirety has the right to set its own limits.

Cornerstone Three: Population Growth

Jewish exceptionalism is used to argue against Jewish participation in limiting population size. That is: American Jews already have a zero growth rate; Jews are an "endangered species" whose numbers must increase; and Hitler has already forced the Jews to do more than their share to limit population growth.[3] And then, there is the Biblical instruction to be fruitful. Oddly, in early times, when Jews numbered between four and eight million, having two children was deemed "fruitful." But in medieval times, when there were fewer than one million Jews,

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the text was reinterpreted to mean that fathering many children is a good deed. One surmises that the mother would help in this endeavor, but she could limit her child-bearing if her health were jeopardized.[4] Today, many Jews act like the rest of the populace; but the more orthodox follow the medieval practice. One interpretation holds, however, that concern for her psychological "health" may lead a woman to limit her child-bearing. And the younger women tend to obey their mentors; the older women tend to recognize reality. Even orthodox Jews, therefore, except some rabbis and most Chasidim, limit their family size to an average of four children.

Never forgotten are the "six million," as if the Nazis had murdered only Jews, as if the massacres in, for example, the USSR, Turkey, Kampuchea and Rwanda and of early inhabitants everywhere are the exceptions, as if the only ones needing "replacements" are the six million Jews. Thus, limiting the number of Jews is not readily accepted; but since some Jews are reluctant to declare Jewish exceptionalism out loud, the attitude becomes: "if we are going to do it, we can't tell you not to." Those who believe in Jewish exceptionalism, however, and not in Kant's categorical imperative, or who neither know nor care that massacres are common in human history say: "you should limit your numbers, but we will not."

"...how long can [Israeli] ecosystems withstand the onslaught of so many users?"

The ethnocentric focus persists. And a belief that past practice is the supreme guide blinds some people to the present and the future. That is, just as holiday celebrants are supposed to, and may indeed, feel that history is alive, that they are with the first celebrants in the original time and place, most Jews want to remember that they are themselves the immigrants who did come while remembering the refugees who could not. Every boatload of escapees resonates with the 1930s; and told that things are different since 1980, Jews would wonder why fifteen years counts more than 2000, and how long these new conditions will last. Safe havens, when needed again, might again be denied them. Accessible borders, then, are a safety precaution: "Suppose we were today's immigrants, as we were yesterday's, would you want the answer to be 'No' again?"

Such short-term compassion is, like the desire to obey Biblical teaching, hard to transform. It is easier to avoid the hard dilemmas of triage and long-term choices. Thus, the previously positive approach of aiding the victims, considering them as lives full of promise who deserve the opportunities that we have, becomes negative when it does not recognize that today's population growth is erasing those opportunities. And thus, a third cornerstone for recommending less immigration is missing.

Cornerstone Four: Environmentalism

Environmentalism is still a peripheral movement among Jews.[5] Since Biblical times, except for the last fifty years in Israel, Jews could not belong to the land, or to a land, because they could not own land and had to be ready to leave quickly whenever pogroms began again. Thus, a concern for preserving nature is not part of their history. If we live in the present, we can incorporate the new concept of protecting biodiversity into our thinking; but those who rely heavily on the past are slower to respond, holding to the idea that nature exists only to serve humans and does not have its own right to exist. During the entire diaspora, Jews have been literate city and village people whose worth was portable — not in the land, but in their hands and heads. Therefore, the old concepts of being stewards and guardians of nature and of compassion for all creatures are neglected; only usefulness to humans is meritorious.[6]

Environmentalism is also weak in Israel: they undo past devastations, until nature rebels; but how long can their ecosystems withstand the onslaught of so many users? In the United States, where Jews are overwhelmingly urbanites, the lessons of the Sabbath — to rest, but also to respect the land and allow it to rest — are only now being recalled.[7] Some Jewish environmentalists believe that now, since the holocaust is past, Russian Jews are free and Israel is a state, environmentalism could help unify American Jews.[8] But concern peaked during the oil crisis, when Arab interests were the issue, and fell when oil became available again.[9] Environmentalism, then, is a tool, not an end in itself. Even so, the questions are

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whether Jewish environmentalists will ever succeed and whether they will see the linkage of environment, population and immigration. Thus one more cornerstone, recognizing the need to preserve, is missing.

Teaching

Finally, Jewish moral teaching, probably similar to most other ethical systems, is balanced: graciousness to strangers must be limited by the need not to pauperize yourself; sufferers must be helped, but we may not make the poor pay the price; examples must be set, but decisions are to be made by the majority. Thus, tensions stem from trying to decide between charity and limits: who and how many will be admitted? How far can hospitality go and who will pay for it?

Jews, then, prefer immigration to be legal, but do not want the illegal individual punished; they favor Jewish refugees, but only when they are truly persecuted, not economic refugees; they are not swayed by bogus claims about immigrants helping the economy, but do sympathize with individuals and groups that the media focus on; they do not believe that advocates of limits are xenophobic racists, for they separate racism from prudence; they recognize that limits exist, but are unaware that even a rich country like the United States can become impoverished; they value family ties, but do not agree on how far beyond the nuclear family those ties should be extended; they value diversity, but believe that multiculturalism and bilingual education, as it is now, lower educational standards. They are concerned about some ecological issues, believing that we can eat the fruit but not cut the tree down,[10] yet retain the teaching that pollution is the price to be paid for earning a living.[11] They believe that undue population growth adversely affects civil liberties, but suppose that the West can, and should, accept more people; yet they are generally unaware of the interdependence of population size, education and the environment.

Conclusion

Thus, like most people, Jews are too little aware that today's immigration is harmful. Their worthy attitudes need contact with today's realities. Their respect for individuality and aversion to authority lead to ignoring the effects of masses; their ethnic pride and sense of group kinship lead to ethnocentric exceptionalism and a belief that they should be exempt from constraints; their ability to learn from millennia of experience leads to an over-reliance on fancied analogies with the past; their belief in nature's bounty and human resourcefulness leads to dismissing the idea that resources and opportunities are now too limited; their reverence for fallen comrades leads to ignoring the threat of population growth; their faith in traditional teaching ignores how interpretations differ; their charity ignores the threat of overwhelming numbers. And mostly, their reverence for the past, dwelling not only on but in the past, relishing and constantly reliving it, makes them imperceptive about the present and too unaware of the unintended but highly probable and probably harmful consequence of present-day choices.

"...even a rich country like the United States can become impoverished..."

Ideas persist. The idea, for example, that Israel needs more people to protect itself ignores not only the ecological effects of undue population growth there, but the fact that Israel has won its wars with its neighbors despite a presumed "disadvantage" in population size of 16:1. And then the analogy is: if immigration is "good" for tiny Israel, how can it be bad for America, with its vast spaces and rich resources?

Jews are acutely aware of their role as teachers. And a large part of their influence, despite their small numbers, is their ability to evoke guilt by reminding others of anti-semitic acts performed, or permitted, in the past. And since the guilty acts were all too real, the approach works. Other groups are learning from Jews how to use presumptions of, or sometimes real, guilt to secure, under the guise of "compassion," political or economic advantage.

Thus, official statements of Jewish organizations, like those of other ethnic lobbies, favor immigration, dubbing it the "compassionate" choice. The people I spoke with are less rigid, the problem being lack of awareness and a set of other priorities. Education is possible. Recommending greatly decreased immigration is a position reached by fair-minded people only after much deliberation, deep thought and

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the gathering of extensive information, for only then is immigration seen as, in the long run, a pernicious solution. The questions then, are: how long will that education take; and will it have its effect in time? ■

[AUTHOR'S NOTE: *Most of the views cited in this article were related to me in personal conversations over the last two decades, or more recently in direct preparation for this publication. The people I spoke with are all intensely involved with Jewish issues, and most have responsible positions requiring information, insights and understanding regarding the attitudes of Jews. The context and choice of particular formulations of viewpoints was, of course, my responsibility; but footnoting all those views was impossible.*]

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The Bible and Borders

A Conservative Protestant Looks at Immigration Control

By John Vinson

Does Christianity, historically the faith of the West, require the West to commit demographic and cultural suicide by admitting all who would enter? Given what many churches teach today, it would seem so. Their general line of thinking runs something like this: God is love. God loves all men equally. Therefore, all barriers, i.e. race, nation, national boundaries, etc., must fall so as to permit God's love to equalize all men (presumably even if that means an equal level of misery).

In his preface to *The Camp of the Saints*, author Jean Raspail states that "so-called Christian charity will prove itself powerless" against the onrushing tide of humanity surging toward Western gates. Raspail, however, raises an intriguing question with his use of the word "so-called," namely: is what many regard as Christian charity really Christian?

The only way to answer that question is to ask by what standard one judges Christianity and Christian ethics. To illustrate: how do pro-immigration churchmen know that God is love? After all, many of the gods men have worshipped have not been particularly loveable. The source of their statement, of course, is the Bible. Without the Bible, Christianity would have no form or substance. Historically (at least for Protestants) it has been the primary standard of judgment.

Most modern churchmen, however, like to pick and choose through the Book. They embrace, for example, certain passages about love, but ignore the passages about divine wrath. A common tendency is generally to ignore the first three-fifths of the Bible (the Old Testament) and do most of their selective scriptural cutting from the New Testament. (This "modern" outlook is actually a retread of the ancient heresy of Marcion who maintained that the Bible reveals two gods: the wicked wrathful God of the Old Testament and the loving God of the New.)

But picking and choosing implies that they have chosen a standard higher than the Bible for judging the Bible. What is it? Some would say the universal love displayed by Christ. Yet what is their standard for judging the nature and person of Christ? Hardly could it be the Christ of the Bible who identified Himself as one and the same as the wrathful Old Testament deity. And as for a Jesus always meek and mild, surely Jerusalem's money changers, scribes, and Pharisees would have told a different story.

Thus again the question: what is the standard that modern churchmen use to judge the Bible and create their version of Jesus? A good answer came more than a century ago from noted theologian R. L. Dabney, who observed that "The fell spirit of Jacobinism has invaded the church of Christ." By that he meant that the spirit of the Enlightenment and French Revolution — universalism and radical egalitarianism — was replacing the Bible as the standard for Christian truth in many churches. So it is today. Scarcely is it a coincidence that pro-immigration priests sound more like the Jacobin Robespierre than the Prophets of Old.

These priests, of course, are entitled to their opinions, but their views are just that: opinions. They should not pretend to speak for the God of the Bible.

What does the Bible have to say on topics related to immigration? It would be useful to examine three concepts: 1) love; 2) equality; 3) nationality-ethnicity.

Love

Along with teaching that God is love, the Bible affirms His truth, law, and justice. These attributes guide and direct divine love, much as stream banks direct a stream. As this love flows along boundaries of commandments, it makes distinctions between God and man and distinctions among men. To love God, according to the Decalogue, is to shun idols. To love

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neighbors is to respect (i.e. neither steal nor covet) their property. The commandment to honor one's parents reflects the importance of the ties of kinship.

Equality

The God of the Bible is not a partisan of equality. He offers salvation to all, but esteems those more who accept the offer. He loved Jacob and hated Esau. While the Bible commands Christians to feed and clothe the deserving poor, it offers no trace of suggestion that all men should have equal incomes and status. The parable of the talents teaches different rewards for different efforts. Christ denied He was a divider of worldly goods and warned that preoccupation with such things stems from envy. The Apostle Paul said men had different God-given abilities which suit them to different tasks.

Nationality and Ethnicity

On nationality and ethnicity, the Bible is plain that God abhors the blending of all peoples into a single world state. He defeated such a plan at Babel. "In days of old," says the book of Deuteronomy, "the Most High" divided the nations and set boundaries among them. The Apostle Paul, in the New Testament book of Acts, says that boundaries were set among nations "that men might seek after God." Some nations God loves more than others, e.g. ancient Israel.

Application to the Present

From these biblical principles what may we conclude about current immigration problems?

1) Nationhood is not an arbitrary human arrangement, but a principle of divine order. The separation of vastly different peoples helps reduce conflict and promote fruitful diversity. Massive uncontrolled immigration defeats God's order. Love and compassion fare poorly in chaos — and also in the tyranny that often follows chaos.

Israelite nationhood sheds true light on the often-made claim that Christ's command to love strangers requires open immigration. Christ, as God, commanded the same of Israel in the Old Testament, but that benevolence to strangers never extended to opening Israel to foreign cultures and foreign domination.

2) The Western nations have the right to exist and preserve the cultural, ethnic, and other characteristics which define their nationhood. This right to exist implies the right to control borders. These nations need not feel guilty that they have more than other countries. The wealth of Western countries exists to a large extent because of a Christian heritage which affirms justice, the rights of property, and the work ethic.

Their wealth, indeed, is a witness to the blessings offered by Christian faith and principles. To throw away that wealth is to throw away that witness.

3) Christians of the West should provide humanitarian help to people in Third World countries. For this very reason, Western Christians cannot allow their countries to be overrun and depleted to Third World status. Then there would be no Western wealth to help anyone. This obligation to help, however, is no endorsement of government foreign aid programs of governments which, in the words of one humorist, tax poor people in rich countries to enrich rich people in poor countries.

The biblical viewpoint of nationhood is one that few liberals and other latter-day Jacobins find the least bit congenial. Man, they exclaim, needs no bounds or borders to be good. In fact, borders only frustrate his natural goodness. Man is not sinful and needs no redeeming God. If we just have faith and optimism, they reassure us, men can rebuild Babel's tower to the heavens and bring on a New Age—with a new heaven, a new earth, and, again, no need for God.

Like their predecessors in France, these neo-Jacobins believe that the best of all men are Noble Savages, i.e. men untainted by the "corrupting" influences of Western civilization. Thus, to our Jacobins a Third World invasion of the West would be no calamity, but a glorious opportunity for moral and spiritual rebirth!

If this be suicide, they may think, it is truly a righteous act done for love of mankind. But just how righteous, many will wonder, are people who so carelessly cast away the memory of their ancestors, the future of their descendants, and the birthright of their nations? Could a deeper — and more base — motive be at work? The words of God recorded in Scripture offer a possible explanation: All they that hate me love death. ■

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James Robb has covered religion as a journalist for more than 15 years. He also produces videos from his base in Frederick, Maryland.

The Scalabrinian Fathers

Catholic Apostles to the World's Immigrants

By James S. Robb

Persons closely following the immigration debate may be struck by how often they come across the name of the Center for Migration Studies, of Staten Island, New York. Led by the ubiquitous Father Lydio Tomasi, and founded by his tireless brother Father Silvano Tomasi, natives of northeast Italy, the center functions as a think tank supporting scholarly research and public advocacy on immigration issues.

However, fewer know about the center's sponsors, a Roman Catholic community known as the Scalabrinians. This specialized religious society is dedicated solely to aiding immigrants and their causes. With its corps of more than 600, mostly Italian-born, priests and brothers around the world — 200 in the U.S. alone — the Scalabrinian Fathers are well-positioned to influence the immigration debate for years to come.

Catholics Respond To Immigration

One reason for the Roman Catholic Church's remarkable success over the centuries has been its near-inexhaustible adaptability to new social and political challenges.

Although the church's responses to perceived social problems often seem idiosyncratic to outsiders, it does seem to respond, sometimes in dramatic fashion. The most usual method is to create a whole new unit within the church to address a particular need.

The Missionaries of St. Charles—popularly known as the Scalabrinian Fathers—take this religious specialization to its limits. The whole reason for this society of "religious" (priests and unordained lay "brothers" who take special vows) is to aid immigrants and the cause of immigration around the world. They have done this successfully for over 100 years.

Best known in the U.S. for their oft-quoted, well-published Center for Migration Studies, the Scalabrinians have occupied a leading role in the ongoing national discussion about immigration. The Tomasi brothers, highly educated, intellectual priests with an activist bent, have been the driving force of the center since 1964, when Silvano founded the organization. After Silvano resigned to work on immigration issues for the U.S. Catholic Conference in Washington, D.C., Lydio took over, and continues today.

"The center tries to be as objective as possible," states Silvano Tomasi. "We start from this premise. It's a social fact that there are almost 20 million people living in this country legally who were born in another part of the world. This is not our [center's] decision.[1]

The center does not view itself so much as an advocate of high levels of immigration as it does a promoter of balance and fairness. Although Tomasi says "everybody agrees that immigration has been good for America," he does not object if the U.S. decides to lower immigration quotas. "The issue is the good management of immigration, taking into account all factors," he says.

But the center, as a think-tank and publisher, is merely a small part of the Scalabrinians' work in the United States. According to Father Gianni (pronounced "Johnny") Agostinelli, editor of the society's U.S. journal *Scalabrinian*, that work is very broad and keeps getting broader. With a presence in nearly 30 nations, the reach of this religious society is very long indeed.[2]

Deep Roots In Italy

The origin of the Scalabrinian Fathers lies in Italy in the years after 1870, when a unified Italian state had been hammered together out of dozens of city-states and principalities. The unification left a great deal of acrimony, political unrest, and economic dislocation in its wake. One major problem was the hostility which developed between the Catholic Church and the Italian state. The Vatican had not

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been merely a religious headquarters incidentally located in Rome. The Holy See had for many centuries held title to numerous of the small states making up the Italian peninsula. The new Kingdom of Italy had seized control of those fiefdoms, creating much animosity in the church. Perhaps even more important to the Vatican was the anti-clerical mood which dominated the government. Many Vatican officials belonged to a movement known as the "Intransigents," that is, Catholics who refused any dealings with the new government. For a number of years Italian Catholics were forbidden to vote in state elections.

On top of this poisonous political atmosphere was the great, crushing poverty of the new nation. Things were so bad politically and economically that many Italians felt compelled to leave, and were leaving in great numbers. Between the years 1880-1920, 4.5 million Italians immigrated to the United States, a vast exodus exceeding biblical proportions.[3] Although about half a million eventually returned to the motherland, the others put a sizable hole in Italy's 1881 population of 28,260,000.[4]

"[The emigrants] knew no English, had no money, and were often preyed upon by unscrupulous emigration agents..."

Enter a priest named Giovanni Battista Scalabrini (John Baptist Scalabrini), an industrious and devoted young pastor who came from an outstanding middle class family from the northern Italian province of Lombardy. Scalabrini attended seminary, was ordained in 1863, had a stint as a teacher, then was assigned to be a parish priest in Como in 1870.

Although emigration from Italy had not quite reached flood stage yet, many of his parishioners were already beginning to leave, especially for America. These individuals struck Scalabrini as being sheep going to slaughter. They knew no English, had no money, and were often preyed upon by unscrupulous emigration agents from their homeland (the *coyotes* of their day).

Moreover, since the American Catholic Church was Irish-American dominated and English-speaking, he feared his people would lose their faith in the new surroundings. Scalabrini decided the church could and should help resettle its migrating members. His first idea was to write letters of introduction and recommendation for his people preparing to leave. This practice gave the immigrants some standing with priests in America.

In 1876 Scalabrini was appointed bishop of Piacenza, where his social activism came into full flower. Shortly after his installation, the new bishop undertook a rigorous tour of his diocese's many parishes. He was appalled to learn that nearly 28,000 out of the original 200,000 parishioners of his diocese had already emigrated. Fourteen percent!

Worried about the drain of quality people from Italy, and even more concerned about what fate the émigrés would find on the other side of the ocean, Bishop Scalabrini approached the problem two ways. First, he issued a decree requiring his pastors to discourage Catholics from emigrating. Second, if they insisted on leaving, the priests should provide letters of introduction for them to ease their path.

In the next few years, while emigration continued to increase in the face of continued Italian poverty, the bishop involved himself in several large projects to help the poor. Scalabrini established a society to aid the *mondine*, impoverished women harvesting rice in the paddies of northern Italy. He also opened an institute for the deaf and mute in his diocese. During the famine year of 1879, he turned his episcopal residence into a soup kitchen, dishing out 4,000 bowls of soup each day, selling his horses and even a bejeweled cup, a gift of the pope, to keep the soup kettles boiling. But the immigration question kept preying on his mind.

He described coming across a group of America-bound emigrants at the Milan train station one day and being struck by their pitifully haggard appearance. He wrote:

> *Not without tears they bid farewell to their native village, to which many sweet memories bound them. But they were disposed to leave their country without regret, since they did not know it save under the hateful guise of conscription and the tax collector, and since for one who is disinherited the fatherland is the land that gives him bread, and yonder, far far away they hoped to find it. ... Faced by such a sad state of things, I have often asked*

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myself: how can one remedy such a situation?[5]

One decision he made was that the outward flow of Italians might not be such a bad thing after all. Like Mexican politicians today, he began to view immigration as a necessary safety valve to help both the emigrants and those left behind. He also noted Italy had no foreign colonies where its citizens could go, so North and South America were the logical destinations. (Partially through his public writings, this view of immigration was adopted by the Italian government as well.)

In 1886, Scalabrini made contact with a former student, Father Francesco Zaboglio, who was also very concerned about the plight of Italian emigrants. Zaboglio's family had themselves emigrated to Wisconsin, and he urged the bishop to take leadership nationally in Italy in order to aid the immigrants. Seeing no practical alternative, Scalabrini decided to try.

In January, 1887, the bishop wrote to the appropriate officials in the Vatican, asking that he be allowed to form a society of Italian missionary priests whose sole purpose would be to help Italians leaving the country to enter and adapt to New World societies.[6] The initial response from Rome was encouraging, so he wrote up a detailed program for his initiative.

Noting that neither the government nor the church had extended itself to help emigrants, he suggested his missionary society would have five assignments: (1) protect emigrants from disreputable emigration agents; (2) open offices in the U.S. to help settle immigrants upon arrival, including attempting to find jobs; (3) provide material aid during passage and afterwards in case of emergency; (4) fight the growing white slavery and prostitution traffic; and, (5) provide religious guidance every step along the immigrant's path.

Scalabrini took strong issue with his church's "Intransigents" by urging that his society be allowed to establish official relations with the Italian and American governments. This was the only way to help root out exploitation by the emigration agents, stop white slavery, and bring order to the whole chaotic process.

In a significant point, Scalabrini argued that the immigrants should be urged to congregate in a few large "colonies" rather than scattering upon arrival, so that the priests could help them and they could help each other. Moreover, Italians from the various, mutually antagonistic, provinces must be convinced to forget their regional differences and work together. The pope, an admirer of Scalabrini, approved the plan with some modifications, and the Missionaries of St. Charles, as they were officially known, were launched.

Scalabrini recruited for his new congregation (the Catholic term for a society of "religious" — vow-taking priests or nuns — sometimes called an "order") extremely dedicated men determined to live out their lives in foreign lands, ministering to their people. Scalabrinian priests have no property at all. Any salary they earn as parish priests, etc., has to be returned to the congregation for its missionary work. Further, they are trained to see themselves as fellow migrants and to live like the people with whom they work. Each is expected to speak several languages.

"...the bishop opened houses in New York and major Italian ports and established lay-led societies of sympathetic Catholics to provide material aid."

This strict regime has never seemed to deter volunteers. Although the Scalabrinian Fathers have not been immune to the world-wide crisis in new priest recruitment, they have managed to keep their numbers steady, with more than 600 members. Many other "religious" congregations have seen their numbers plummet.

With the first missionary priests joining his cause, the bishop opened houses in New York and major Italian ports and established lay-led societies of sympathetic Catholics to provide material aid. The first Scalabrinian assigned to the port city of Geneo was Father Maldotti, a remarkable man, typical perhaps of the Scalabrinians. So protective was he of the naive emigrants moving through the port city that he personally met every train, the better to escort emigrants past unscrupulous innkeepers, ticket agents, and the like.[7] At the other side of the ocean other priests were soon stationed to provide immediate help and guidance to the newcomers. Before long, priests

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also sailed with many of the ships to help in the event that sickness or death struck en route.

Although material help has always been one priority for the Scalabrinians, of equal concern has been preventing the disorientation of adjusting to a new society from destroying the immigrants' faith. As the society grew in number, Scalabrini assigned many of them to found Italian-speaking Catholic churches in America. The first began in Chinatown, Manhattan. Others were established in New York, Rhode Island, the upper Midwest, and other centers of Italian immigration. The Scalabrinian priests performed this work under the immediate supervision of the local American bishop, so conflict with the U.S. Catholic establishment was avoided.[8]

"The work of the Scalabrinians now is conducted in the Philippines, Mexico, Colombia, all over Europe — about 30 countries in all."

Eventually, Scalabrinians were administering scores of Italian immigrant churches in America. Bishop Scalabrini, ever energetic, visited many of these new churches personally in 1901. He also traveled to South America to inspect the fast-growing work there. During his U.S. tour, Scalabrini met with President Theodore Roosevelt in the White House. The president heaped a good deal of praise on the Italian immigrants in general and on the Scalabrinians in particular. They discussed several crimes committed by Italian immigrants, although Roosevelt said the Italians were no worse than other groups. Scalabrini explained that his countrymen were often provoked by their ill-treatment in America, and related what he had told the president:

> *I cited an incident of which I had been an eyewitness at Ellis Island just a few weeks before. At Ellis Island I had seen a guard strike an immigrant across the legs as if he had been an animal and not a man. The blow had been dealt by one who was supposed to uphold the law and protect it. The immigrant had turned against his tormentor and had slapped him soundly, adding the remark that it was luck he had no weapon handy. I admitted to the President that the man had done wrong in lifting up his hand against a duly-elected officer of the law, but, I inquired, did the President consider it correct for that officer to treat a humble immigrant in such a way? The President deplored the occurrence....*[9]

The ethnic churches created by the Scalabrinian Fathers often grew quite large and prosperous, serving as social centers for the immigrant community. It seems they did help to smooth the transition to life in America. Today, many of the parishes are English-speaking. Still others have switched to Spanish, as immigrants from Latin America have become more numerous than those from Europe. Of course, parishes "die out sometimes because people move," explains Father Agostinelli.

After the great wave of migration ending in 1924, the Scalabrinians turned their attention to building institutions. Many fine church buildings, a string of retirement homes (some quite large), publications, and, of course, the influential Center for Migration Studies.

Evolution of the Scalabrinian Mission

As times have changed, so has the society's mission. No longer does it restrict itself to helping Italian immigrants. The goal now is to work for the poorest of the world's immigrants, no matter where they are from or where they are going. Not to say that Italians have stopped coming to the U.S. — in the quarter century ending in 1976, more than half a million new Italian immigrants poured into America. The trend, if anything, may be increasing.

"According to some statistics," said Father Agostinelli, "Italians made up the biggest illegal group immigrating to the New York area last year." He said he believed 30,000 illegal Italian immigrants arrived in the New York City metropolitan area in 1994 (out of Italy's 1994 population of 57,200,000[10]). But though they are still numerous, Italians are now far from the poorest immigrants.

The work of the Scalabrinians now is conducted in the Philippines, Mexico, Colombia, all over Europe — about 30 countries in all. Interestingly enough, although the focus of the work has shifted from Italian immigrants, most of the Scalabrinian Fathers still hail from the Italian peninsula. Of the 200 Scalabrinians in the U.S., for example, about 160 of them were born in Italy.

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Dan Ramirez is a lay member of the Apostolic Assembly church and a higher education administrator at Stanford University. This article is reprinted with permission from the February 17, 1995 edition of the Arizona Daily Star.

Churches' Call to "Love the Stranger" Includes Illegals

By Dan Ramirez

"When two days had passed without any word from them, we knew that they had gotten lost. The brethren began to pray for God to watch over my two little sons."

As she filled out her family's citizenship applications, Hermana Socorro (Sister Refuge) recalled how God had watched over her teen-aged sons' border crossing from Mexico several years ago. When the *migra* (Border Patrol) swooped down around them, the migrant boys had hidden in the mountainous terrain to await the coyote's (smuggler) instructions. Miraculously, a guardian angel appeared — an *hermano* (brother) from her Apostolic church who had often stayed at their family's home in Michoacan. Two days later he phoned the anxious mother from a safe house in Los Angeles. A member of her church congregation was dispatched in a church-owned station wagon to pick up the young men and pay the coyote the balance owed.

The following Sunday, Socorro rose at church to testify about God's goodness and to thank the congregation for their support. (The guardian angel is now an Apostolic pastor in Michoacan.)

Illegal aliens are much maligned in California these days. But there are Latino Pentecostal churches in this state — socially conservative, apolitical, long excluded from the public discourse — that have opted to "love the stranger." In doing so, they put otherwise law-abiding communities in contravention with the law. But they do so remembering their common history with the sojourners and remembering also that the law — like the Sabbath — is made for men and women, not the other way around.

Latino evangelical churches — two-thirds of them Pentecostal — recognize only one document for accepting otherwise undocumented strangers: a "*carta de recomendación*" — a letter from the sending pastor, written on his church's official letterhead, affirming that the newcomer is a person of good standing in the church. At a set point in a service, the receiving pastor will ask the newcomer to stand while the letter is read aloud. "I beg you to accept my recommendee as is the custom among us ... Assist him/her with any counsel or orientation that may be necessary." Quoting from the Book of Hebrews, the letter exhorts the congregation: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares."

"These religious communities view residents of the region as one people, historically united by blood, language, music, cuisine, faith."

This simple ritual transforms the letter into a credential of legitimacy and the newcomer into a full-fledged member of the congregation. It reflects the unique relationship between the Apostolic Assembly, a Latino Pentecostal denomination founded in 1916, and its sister church in Mexico, the Iglesia Apostòlica, an alliance codified by decades-old treaties and a joint constitution allowing for the cross-border exchange of members and personnel.

Combined, the two churches represent some half a million people. But their ritual for welcoming the stranger is now used widely by Latino evangelical churches throughout the Southwest and West. These religious communities view residents of the region as one people, united historically by blood, language, music, cuisine, faith. When secular law capriciously divides them, Biblical law takes precedence. While U.S. and Mexican immigration policies have fluctuated wildly over the past half century, the Latino evangelicals' ethos of brotherhood with and

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charity to the sojourner has remained constant.

Late one Friday afternoon last year, immigration agents raided a Central Valley carpentry shop and netted an Apostolic congregation's youth auxiliary president and his companion. Both were scheduled to preside over that evening's youth service. While their duties were hastily reassigned, a member of the Dorcas (Women's Auxiliary) prepared a plan to rescue the deported brethren. A car was dispatched to the U.S.-Mexico border. Discreet phone signals were arranged. Contact was made with the young deportees in Tijuana. Prayers were offered on their behalf.

"When secular law capriciously divides them, Biblical law takes precedence."

In short, an efficient church-run coyote operation restored the lost sheep to the congregation in time for the Sunday night evangelistic service, much to the brethren's joy. Perhaps it is foolish to think that the practices of a marginalized Latino Pentecostal church should inform American politics, let alone American private life. Still, as politicians preach communal values while accentuating the divisions in society, who is legitimate from who is not, these Latino Pentecostals bear witness to the true meaning of communal life.

Several months ago, Hermano Efren, a 52-year-old undocumented immigrant bereft of health and family from 30 years of drinking, died after his bike was struck by a speeding car. Ten months earlier, he had joined an Apostolic congregation and discovered a new purpose and a new family. His sudden death took his church by surprise.

Calls to the Mexican consulate and the California Highway Patrol turned up nothing; he was a man without a country. An unsent letter found in his meager belongings, however, yielded the address of an aged aunt in Guadalajara who had given him up for dead many years before. Anticipating her relay of power of attorney, the congregation assumed legal and financial responsibility for recovering and burying the body. As the casket was lowered into the cemetery plot to the words of the hymn, "*Mas Allá del Sol*" (Beyond the Sun) several women in the congregation wept. ■

Religion and Politics

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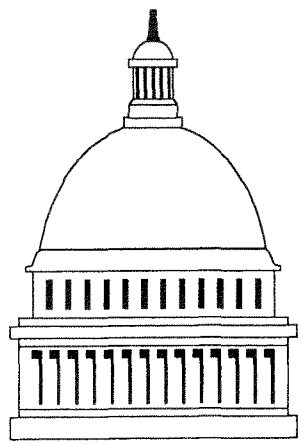

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Don Barnett lived and worked for nearly two years in the former Soviet Union. He has written extensively on immigration issues for National Review, Chronicles, *the* Christian Science Monitor, The Social Contract, *and for* Immigration Review, *published by the Center for Immigration Studies.*

Neither Responsible Immigration Nor Refugee Resettlement:

Subsidized Migration from the former USSR Continues on Automatic Pilot

By Don Barnett

1995 might be the year the refugee resettlement program makes the news. But if the program manages to elude the public's radar during the current debate about welfare reform it may never be discovered.

The refugee program has been shielded from the public scrutiny directed towards immigration in part because of the emotional freight carried by the very term "refugee." "Everything they once had has been destroyed or taken away, probably at gunpoint. Home, family, possessions, all gone..." according to UNHCR publicity material. The American Immigration Lawyers Association cautions against confusing immigrants with refugees who it says are fleeing for their lives and are "unable to return to their country because of a real threat to life or liberty based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a social group."

Indeed, refugees are not to be confused with immigrants. Unlike immigrants, refugees receive a U.S. guaranteed loan for air fare, transitional cash assistance and, within 1 to 4 months of arrival, automatic eligibility for all welfare programs on the same basis as U.S. citizens. Refugees enjoy other advantages vis-à-vis non-refugee immigrants such as an extra measure of protection from deportation even if convicted of a crime. To deport a refugee the INS must prove that conditions in the home country have changed to the extent that the deportee will no longer have a "well-founded fear of persecution."

Over the last 7 years 75 to 80 percent of refugee visas were split between ex-Soviets and Southeast Asians, reflecting inertial momentum of cold war foreign policy. Recently the former Soviet Union has overtaken Southeast Asia in annual arrivals and will remain the primary refugee sending region for the foreseeable future.

About 38% of 110,000 refugee visas will go to the Slavic republics of the former Soviet Union in 1995. Advocates for Soviet refugees argue that, for the sake of parity, the Soviet resettlement program should run as long as the Southeast Asian resettlement program, a U.S. funded migration that is still going strong 20 years after it began. As the migration from the former Soviet Union begins to look like another decades-long unexamined federal program (and a significant unfunded mandate for the states at that), it may be useful to ask who gets in and who pays.

The Lautenberg Amendment

According the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980, which is based on international law, a refugee is a person "who is persecuted or has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." As defined by U.N. conventions, claims to refugee status are to be documented and considered on an individual case-by-case basis. The vast majority of refugees to the U.S., however, is admitted on the basis of "reduced evidentiary standards" and a little-known legal clause which amounts to a virtual presumption of persecution based solely on membership in certain groups. According to the Lautenberg amendment of 1989, a claimant from one of the designated categories (certain Southeast Asian nationals, Jews and Christian Evangelicals from the former Soviet Union and Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox), may qualify as a refugee by merely showing "acts of persecution committed against *other*

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persons in his or her standard profile in his or her geographic locale or acts *regardless* of locale which give rise to a well-founded fear of persecution." (Emphasis added.) Almost none of those admitted from the former USSR come from the population of 2 million refugees the UNHCR has identified in and among the former republics.

In practice, besides belonging to a "Lautenberg category" nearly all ex-Soviet refugees are admitted because they have a relative in the U.S. Rejections of refugee claims from "Lautenberg" applicants must be supported in writing. Claims from "Lautenberg" applicants with family ties in the U.S. are accepted about 95 percent of the time.

Family chain migration is the main engine of the refugee program today. That raises a question: are American resident relatives of refugees concerned enough about the fate of the refugees to use their own resources to help them migrate to the U.S.? Answer: of the 120,000 refugees resettled in 1993 from around the world only 384 were actually paid for by relatives or other concerned sponsors. In recent years 10,000 visas were made available annually to sponsoring relatives or agencies willing to pay resettlement costs. Usage of the visas has never exceeded a few hundred a year. This apparent lack of urgency on the part of those closest to the refugees is matched only by the sense of urgency displayed by the refugees themselves. At any given time about 20,000 of the all-expenses-paid refugee visas have been awarded to former Soviets who have decided they don't want to leave just now. The visas remain in effect indefinitely allowing the holder to leave at his or her convenience.

Welfare Dependency Rates

A recent Health and Human Services study of ex-Soviet refugees who arrived between 1988 and 1993 (about 250,000) found 59.7 % of the group to be receiving food stamps and about half to be Medicaid recipients. Some of this assistance will prove to be temporary as the arrivals adjust and enter the economy. For part of the population public assistance will be a permanent way of life. Twenty-two percent of refugee households in the 5-year study group live in public housing and an undetermined proportion live in private apartments subsidized by Section 8 vouchers from HUD or are on a waiting list for public housing. (A growing concern heard in the émigré community is the need to bribe local HUD officials in order to move forward on waiting lists for public housing.)

An astonishing 28% of all households in the group have one or more members receiving cash assistance through SSI. SSI provides an entitlement to indigent elderly and disabled individuals. In addition to a monthly check of $436 to $669 depending upon marital status SSI recipients are entitled to Medicaid which is worth annually about $8,000 on average for elderly and $7,000 for the disabled. Adjustment of behavior to accommodate eligibility requirements for social benefits seems to be the same or worse among would-be Americans as it is among Americans. About 40% of non-citizen SSI recipients are "disabled." Revelations made by two physicians from the émigré community about Medicare and Medicaid abuse were the subject of several high-profile articles in the main émigré newspaper, *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*.

"...their average Medicare/Medicaid patient generates not the usual $4,000 to $8,000 in charges to the government but more than $35,000 each year."

In a series of articles titled "How our immigrants rob Medicare and Medicaid" the physicians explain how easy it is to adapt to the opportunity offered by America's social contract. According to the articles, the U.S. government is paying for a lot of non-existent home oxygen machines in Brighton Beach, Brooklyn (a Soviet American colony in New York City). Also, according to the articles, "tons" of medicine obtained fraudulently through Medicaid and Medicare is making its way to the black market in Moscow. The physicians, who treat the émigré community, report that their average Medicare/Medicaid patient generates not the usual $4,000 to $8,000 in charges to the government, but more than $35,000 each year. It is important to note that it is a small minority which engages in this type of activity, but it wouldn't work without fairly widespread passive participation in, or at least tolerance of, the practice. As one of the physicians said: "any pensioner in Brighton Beach would be glad to show you how to get all you could ever need using your

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Medicare or Medicaid card — the card that can't be taken away!

Under U.S. law refugees who are totally dependent on welfare in the U.S. can bring over extended family members who are fully entitled to all welfare benefits within 30 days of arrival. Likewise, well-to-do refugees may bring over their relatives who are entitled to full time residence on public assistance. On the list of the approximately 683,000 non-citizen immigrants receiving checks from SSI, nationals from Vietnam and the former Soviet Union occupy position 2 and 5 respectively. Russia's ranking is particularly surprising since it has been a major source of continuous immigration for only 7 years. A commentator writing in the Russian émigré press explains "We owe it to our parents to fight for their entitlements; after all in many cases we brought them over here against their wills."

"A recent Health and Human Services study of ex-Soviet refugees who arrived between 1988 and 1993 (about 250,000) found 59.7% of the group to be receiving food stamps and about half to be Medicaid recipients."

Relatively little will change in the usage of welfare by refugees under the House Republicans welfare reform proposals. Refugees are exempt from cuts in social services that apply to other immigrants. Refugee residents today and those arriving in the future will be protected by the exemption until they become eligible for citizenship. Upon naturalization their rights and entitlements continue on the same basis as any other U.S. citizen.

None of the programs named above will be subject to a usage cap under recent welfare reform plans. Taken together, housing assistance, Medicaid, Food stamps and SSI are about 8 times as costly as AFDC, the one program which will be subject to a lifetime usage cap of five years under the proposed welfare reforms.

The New York State Department of Social Services study found that "approximately 50% of refugees received cash assistance uninterrupted through the first 24 months in the state. Once refugees do access public cash assistance, the likelihood increases that they will remain on welfare, thereby fostering long-term dependency." Cash assistance in order of importance for Soviet refugees includes SSI, temporary Refugee Cash Assistance, local General Assistance and AFDC.

Of course reductions in service which apply to U.S. citizens will apply to refugees as well. Eligibility requirements for welfare are becoming stricter and states are required to show an increasing proportion of their welfare caseload in "workfare" or "edufare," programs which are easier to gimmick than welfare itself.

Sponsoring agencies contract with the federal government for the purpose of resettling refugees. (They also give advice about how to appeal for asylum for those who do not arrive on the refugee track. One recent nugget published in the emigre press: how to avoid "incompetent" lawyers who use the same fabricated story of persecution for all their clients. "Competent" lawyers apparently make up a unique story of persecution for each of their clients.) Part of the sponsoring agency's responsibility is enrollment of the refugees in various welfare programs. With the help of federally supported sponsoring agencies and with easily identifiable barriers to employability refugees have an easier time maintaining their welfare eligibility than U.S. citizens.

The following story illustrates why Congress should fully test over a period of time any reductions in expenditures to see if they are real before committing the "savings" to other programs or giving them away in the form of tax breaks. In 1993 Congress passed a law extending by 3 years the waiting period required before SSI payments could begin for the relatives of non-refugee immigrants. (The more costly Medicaid entitlement was left intact as was eligibility for some other programs.) This was accomplished by extending the "deeming" period, the time period for which the immigrants sponsor's income is deemed to be available to support the immigrant. Again, refugees are not affected by the extended deeming period; they may apply for all forms of public assistance upon arrival, regardless of the anchor relative's financial status, but the illustration is relevant because it shows what may happen under any scenario involving a cut off of federal assistance to immigrants, including refugees.

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The claim that the government could save 23 billion over the next 10 years by refusing SSI to non-refugee immigrants until they become citizens must have been a cause for mirth in some quarters. Shortly after passage of the law, the emigre newspaper *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* ran an article by a lawyer practically promising complete welfare eligibility, separate housing and cash assistance within 6 months of arrival for relatives of non-refugees in spite of the new law and in spite of affidavits of financial support signed by the anchor relative in America. The judiciary has consistently found that states may not make a distinction between citizens and non-citizens when distributing benefits. Thus federal cash assistance deferred under the new law is simply replaced by cash assistance from the local and state level. "No one likes living with poor relations," the writer explains. The affidavit of support, essentially an admission ticket for the immigrating relative becomes a meaningless piece of paper when used to require support from the anchor relative. Of course "such matters require the professional help of a lawyer." Infomercials like these are meant for domestic consumption, but reach a large audience back home among those still considering a move to America.

"No one should be surprised at the demand generated by the chance of finding in New York the social guarantees that were lacking in Moscow."

No one should be surprised at the demand generated by the chance of finding in New York the social guarantees that were lacking in Moscow. According to Russian investigative reporter Vadim Yarmolinets: "Having left a system which at some theoretical point in the future was to have provided for every individual need they find themselves in a familiar element here [in the U.S.] ...as if transported to the phantasmagoric 'bright future' of socialism, they live in little Odessas, Leningrads, and Moscows distinguished from the originals by the fact that the stores are full and housing, food and medical care really are free...."

Incredibly, while much of the U.S. budget is finally being examined by the public, the cost of refugee support has been ignored by the media and politicians alike. Yet, if public assistance charges for refugee support at the local, state and federal level are added to direct resettlement costs, it's likely that the yearly cost of the refugee program exceeds our entire 1994 foreign aid budget of $13.5 billion. Most of this is due to refugees from earlier waves, principally from Southeast Asia, but the migration from the former Soviet Union is just beginning and is off to an inauspicious start.

Major refugee-sending countries also become major sources of non-refugee immigrants, often drawn by the fantastic expectations of assistance given to their refugee countrymen. Legal non-refugee immigration is just now ramping up from the former Soviet Union, and as yet is a fraction of the total allowed by law. (Each of the former republics has its own country quota of 20,000 yearly.) Already the region is in the top five as a source of immigration and in some recent years has been among the top three.

The numbers, while dramatic and growing, are not as important as the rules and assumptions underlying the process. Historically, immigration has never been anything but a difficult decision associated with a willingness to sacrifice, take a chance and work hard. In theory such a test should make immigration more or less self-regulating. For the majority of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the decision to immigrate is a "no-brainer."

Today, much of our refugee resettlement represents neither responsible immigration policy nor humanitarianism. ■

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Immigration to the Chicago Area

Testimony by Tom Faber

Of the groups whose testimony the Commission will entertain today, the Illinois Citizens for Immigration Reform is distinctive for two reasons.

First, unlike the myriad special interest immigration welfare advocacy groups here today, ICIR receives no financial support from out-of-state foundations and corporations with their own immigration-related agendas.

Second, ICIR, rather than representing narrow special interests, focuses on the legitimate needs and demands of the larger Illinois community in this important debate.

We are not propped up by massive infusions of money from New York and Washington to propound a narrow special interest agenda; we simply represent the voice of the people of the state and the greater metropolitan area.

As several of our volunteers — and we are an all-volunteer organization — went throughout the metropolitan area speaking to homeowners in Berwyn, retirees in Glenview, students at Northwestern University, midshipmen at Great Lakes [Naval Training Station], parents in Aurora and Melrose Park, and community watch groups on the north and southwest sides of the city, we found a growing rage and resentment over the seemingly uncontrolled wave of immigration sweeping into the metro area.

It was clear to us that we were striking a responsive chord in advocating reasonable legislative efforts to curtail this — the largest wave of immigration in the history of the United States. We sought to quantify the depth of public dissatisfaction in the Chicago metropolitan area, and this past spring we did that. We commissioned an independent polling firm, Richard Day Research in Evanston, to survey residents in the three-county metro area (Cook, DuPage and Lake counties) as to their views on immigration. This is the same firm that conducts the Chicago Sun-Times poll and the ABC WLS TV poll.

Asking essentially the same question which appeared in an August 1992 nationwide Roper poll, we found that a full 57 percent of people in the Chicago metropolitan area believe that under current immigration laws too many immigrants are settling in the Chicago area each year.

A mere 27 percent of respondents supported the current immigration policy by saying that the right number of immigrants are settling in the Chicago area. A negligible 3 percent thought too few immigrants were coming here, with the balance undecided.

Those who thought too many immigrants were settling here:

58% of whites	64% of Republicans
57% of blacks	59% of Democrats
54% of Hispanics	57% of Independents
50% of those saying "other race"	

It is clear to any but the most fuzzy-headed observer that the current federal immigration policy — or non-policy — has lost the confidence of the people of the Chicago metropolitan area.

Several weeks ago, *Newsweek* characterized present U.S. immigration policy as akin to "entering the twilight zone at rush hour except that there is no Rod Serling to offer traffic updates."

The people of the Chicago metropolitan area sense this. They see it. They see it daily in their own neighborhoods, in their schools, at their courthouses, and they see it quite graphically once a year when their taxes come due.

The unprecedented and unwarranted wave of 1.2 to 1.5 million immigrants annually entering the U.S. is having dire economic consequences on this, the third largest metropolitan area in terms of immigrant settlement.

Here in Illinois, taxpayers — and predominantly local property taxpayers — are spending $196 million

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a year in services to the estimated 315,000 illegal aliens who have illicitly settled here.

This past February our governor, Jim Edgar, asserted that the drain on Illinois social service resources by illegal aliens is now such that we are denying services to our own legitimate citizens.

Would someone please explain to me why last summer, while walking my dog along the Foster Avenue Beach, I should run into two Vietnam veterans — one black and one white — who are sleeping on park benches, while at the same time, under a federal government mandate, the State of Illinois is providing free housing to 175 families who sneaked into our country illegally?

The people of Illinois are asking the same question and they're not getting any rational explanations — for in reality there are none. That is why we are not in the least surprised that a full 77% of the people in the Chicago metro poll support an immediate cessation of federal requirements for the provision of services to illegal aliens.

This, incidentally, is precisely what is proposed by the recently introduced Immigration Moratorium Act, a bi-partisan measure which we fully support and which has already been co-sponsored by two members of our Illinois delegation to the House of Representatives.

The problem is not solely limited to illegal immigration; indeed, that is likely the smaller problem in the equation.

Here in Chicago, our schools almost didn't open last fall. They had a $300 million budget shortfall. Yet at the same time, according to their own budget office estimates, the Chicago public schools were spending $450 million educating recent immigrants. That number increases by 15 percent a year.

The national studies, particularly the one done by Donald Huddle of Rice University and David Simcox, former director of the Center for Immigration Studies, contend that recent immigrants, on balance, are in no way paying for these social services. Indeed, they are a net drain on the social service delivery system to the tune of $42 billion a year. Barring any convincing evidence to the contrary, we have no reason to believe that this is not correspondingly the case in the Chicago metropolitan area.

In any event, there is no question that the 5,000 illegal alien inmates currently in Illinois prisons are not a benefit to society. We spend $45 million a year just for their incarceration. If there is one thing that Chicago has never been short of, it's home-grown criminals. We don't need to import them.

Further, when the Ford Foundation-funded immigrant welfare advocates — many of whom are here today — pushed the Chicago sanctuary measure back in 1988, whereby Chicago police were precluded from substantive cooperation with the INS — the Chicago Crime Commission predicted that it would make Chicago a safe haven for alien criminal gangs.

They were right. Over the past three years the INS has deported 823 city and suburban alien criminal gangsters, and those are only the ones who have, to date, wended their way through the cumbersome deportation processes.

Immigration has added over a quarter million to Chicago's population over the past decade. This does not take into account the cumulative population impact of those immigrants whose fertility rates are higher than that of the native population. The Census Bureau's new high level assumptions for population growth place the U.S. population at more than half a billion by the year 2050. Most of this massive population growth would be the direct result of post-1990 immigration.

The thought of a half-billion Americans is mind-boggling, but it is precisely where we're headed unless this unprecedented wave of illegal *and* legal immigration is curtailed.

We urge this Commission to recommend measures akin to those contained in the Immigration Moratorium Act (HR 3352). A temporary reduction in the overall numbers of legal admittances to about the level of 200,000 a year is absolutely essential for communities such as ours. The badly overdue strengthening of border controls inherent in this measure is imperative.

At this level, a reduction which the Ford Foundation-funded immigration welfare advocates label "draconian," the U.S. would still be admitting more immigrants than any other nation in the world. Yet it would give our communities a badly needed respite from the plethora of problems attendant on uncontrolled immigration.

The people of the Chicago Metropolitan Area are saying quite clearly, "We've had enough!" It is our hope that in its recommendations, this commission takes note of that, before the general credibility of Congress is further undermined. ■

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *Associate Editor Wayne Lutton was recently in Chicago as a guest of Illinois Citizens for Immigration Reform. There he learned that...*

Chicago Provides 'Sanctuary' for Illegal Aliens

by Wayne Lutton

In the 1980s a number of American municipalities adopted "sanctuary" orders, by which local governments openly declared that they would not require welfare applicants, public school students, and even convicted criminals to declare their citizenship status (which might have subjected them to legal sanctions and possible deportation). Furthermore, these city administrations prohibited their agencies from cooperating with the INS.

On March 7, 1985 Chicago joined New York City, Madison (Wisconsin), and San Francisco — to name only a few — in becoming an official "sanctuary" city. Then-Mayor Harold Washington signed Executive Order 85-1, which declared that,

> *The policy of the Office of the Mayor is declared to be to encourage equal access by persons residing in the City of Chicago, regardless of nationality or citizenship, to the full benefits, opportunities and services, including employment and the issuance of licenses, which are provided or administered by the City of Chicago. To that end, the provisions of this Order shall be liberally construed....*

As word quickly spread among foreign elements and their American allies, Chicago became a destination of preference for illegals from Latin America, Asia, Ireland, and Eastern Europe. They came not only to seek employment opportunities and enjoy education, public housing, and other municipal services unavailable in their homelands, but a certain percentage engaged in outright criminal activity, especially connected with the lucrative drug trade.

However, the suburbs surrounding Chicago did not follow Mayor Washington's lead. And as crime rates soared, by the early 1990s, many suburban police departments were teaming up with federal immigration authorities not merely to share information and report convicted felons to the INS, but also to encourage the deportation of alien criminals.

Currently, 41 Chicago-area communities encourage their local police to cooperate with the INS whose agents are regularly given access to police files and court records, and invited to accompany local police officers during investigations and while making arrests. The city of Elgin provides office space to the INS and, over a recent 30 month period, turned over to immigration officials more than 100 legal and illegal immigrants involved in criminal gang activity.

"Chicago remains a 'safe haven' for criminal aliens."

Many communities that became "sanctuaries" in the 1980s have since amended or rescinded such orders in the wake of escalating welfare and crime-related costs. In 1992 the non-partisan Chicago Crime Commission asked Mayor Richard M. Daley to "clarify" the "sanctuary" executive order by "specifically authorizing the [police] to cooperate with INS investigations of street gangs and other criminal activity by illegal aliens."

Requests by the Chicago Crime Commission and community groups, such as Take Our Neighborhood Back, to repeal the Sanctuary Order have been sharply rebuffed. Attorney Maria Valdez of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) fumed that, "Not only is [repeal of sanctuary] a threat to resident aliens, it's a threat to U.S. citizens of Hispanic descent."

Now running for reelection as a "law and order" candidate, Mayor Daley issued Executive Order 89-6 by which he officially renewed his commitment to "sanctuary." This Order is still in force and Chicago remains a "safe haven" for criminal aliens. ■

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George Immerwahr, a retired actuary and demographer, writes from Bothell, Washington. A teacher of demography, he also worked to evaluate population strategies for the U.S. A.I.D. program and for the World Health Organization.

"Take Me With You to the U.S.A."

By George Immerwahr

My 10 or more years in what were then called "Third World" countries — in Africa, Asia, Latin America — were enriched by many contacts with young people. These were mostly men and women in their 20s. Some were students at the graduate-school level, to whom I either taught demography or helped write research papers, as what they often needed was one-to-one help in writing English. Others were lower-level administrative employees with whom I worked when I wanted to get things done, since I soon learned that it was far more time-consuming to have to deal with senior management.

My contacts with my young friends were not limited to school or office. I ate with them, played tennis with them, visited their homes, and often, when my wife Jean was present, invited them to our place. They became very informal with me, letting their hair down at times, telling me their problems in school and on the job and even in their home lives, and explaining what was wrong with their country and with its government. And at some time or other, there would come the question:

"Won't you take me with you to the USA?"

It wasn't usually quite that plain, though sometimes it was. The question was more often: could I find them jobs in America or scholarships in American universities?

When the world's annual population growth rate jumped from 1 percent to almost 2 percent (about 1950) the world market for demographers to study that growth rate jumped at an even greater speed. The International Institute for Population Studies (IIPS) in Bombay, India, became known as a staging ground for international demography students, and some of successful students there would go on to universities elsewhere — mostly in the U.S. — to get PhD degrees. After this, long-term employment in the U.S. or UN agencies concerned with the world population problem, or on the faculties of American universities, was virtually assured. Even today, Indians who received their first lessons in demography at the IIPS still occupy posts in the U.S or in UN agencies.

By the time I arrived at the IIPS in 1968, the demand for Indian demographers had slowed down. Among other things, the English-language skills of Indian college graduates were poorer, reflecting the continuing downplay of English-medium education which had begun with the country's independence.

"...it was clear that what attracted young people to [the International Institute for Population Studies] was the prospect of finding U.S. or UN jobs."

Yet it was clear that what attracted young people to IIPS was the prospect of finding U.S. or UN jobs. Since getting such a job was not automatic, every Indian student I taught at IIPS begged for my help in finding an American job or scholarship. Some were still asking for help long after I left IIPS. Some time later I was at an African population study center in Ghana, and the calls for help from the students there continued for several years. One of my former African students is now in a PhD program at Cornell.

Engineers, Medical Doctors: Potential for Migration Dictates Field of Study

Demography was only one of several fields of study whose attraction lay in its prospects for foreign jobs. In India, a great number of young people were attracted to studies in engineering. Even though only a small proportion of graduates could expect to find good engineering jobs in India at that time, the prospects for U.S. jobs were believed to be very

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good. Medicine was and still is the preferred field of study at the University of Sri Lanka, because for years medical graduates found jobs in Britain and Australia, and sometimes in the U.S. Until recently, Sri Lankan graduates were generally allowed to practice in Britain, even without taking the British examination, though graduates are now required to serve five years in Sri Lanka before leaving.

The U.S. government often funded education in the U.S. for persons employed by Third World governments in areas relevant to our foreign assistance efforts. A number of the young people I knew were brought to the U.S. for periods of months or years, on the condition that employment in their home country on their return was guaranteed. But our government didn't compel their return. Many of those who came here for study tried to remain, and some were successful in getting jobs here, cashing in on the training which was provided at our government's expense.

"Look through the pages of the three-volume National Faculty Directory and note the great number of Asian names in American academia."

Other young people are awarded university scholarships here in a variety of fields which have no relation to our government or theirs. Getting such a scholarship is the way so many young foreigners manage to come to the U.S. What is important is not the scholarship or the education that comes with it. The main thing is getting into our country — or rather, getting out of their own countries, where employment opportunities depend so much on political connections. Those who get here and who do well in their studies and are able to sell their services to a U.S. organization manage to stay legally. Others simply stay illegally even without having found a job. In fact, some who get student visas on the strength of a university admission and a scholarship promise arrive here and never even report to the university that admitted them.

Managing to Stay in the U.S.

I mentioned that our government has funded foreigners to come to the U.S. to study, but only if the person was assured of a job in his home country for which the U.S. study was relevant. The purpose of the funding has been not to help the individual, but to help the organization — and in fact the country — to which the individual would return. But we usually have not tried to compel the individual to return to that job. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, in theory, but often not in fact, could compel him to leave the U.S. on completion of his studies. But, as I mentioned, many of those who complete their studies do manage to stay, either legally or illegally. I suspect that those who do stay may even be the majority. After all, to stay here was the reason many of them initially came, and for others the prospects for a life here became far brighter the longer they stayed.

I might add that in other advanced countries there is a somewhat similar scenario. At some Australian universities, a foreign student will be granted a post-graduate scholarship only if he signs an agreement to leave Australia at the completion of his studies. He is told that the only reason for granting him a scholarship was to help his country rather than himself. I have known students from Asia and Africa who on completion of their studies angrily protested the requirement of departure. When reminded of his agreement, one student said, "Sure, I signed the agreement, but I would have signed anything in order to leave Sri Lanka for Australia."

Look through the pages of the three-volume National Faculty Directory and note the great number of Asian names in American academia. Those with Chinese and Japanese family names are probably U.S.-born unless they also have Chinese or Japanese first names, but those with Indian or Vietnamese names are mostly immigrants. Professors with Indian names — like Supta, Desai, Rao, Chandra, Narayan — total in the hundreds, if not in the thousands. And, as you might expect, the majority of Asians are in mathematics or in the physical or health sciences, but there are no fields without at least a few Indian names. When you consider that it is barely twenty years since the first Vietnamese arrived in this country, isn't it remarkable that a number of them are now teaching English literature to American college students?

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Those Who Do Return

My observation has been that those who return to their home countries following education or specialized training in the U.S or other developed countries are disappointed that they chose to return. Shortly before I arrived at IIPS, two young Indians who had themselves studied at IIPS years before and then got PhDs in the U.S. had returned to take up IIPS faculty jobs. Each of them told me that there were posts in U.S universities which had been offered them, but they turned them down in the feeling that they owed it to their own country and to IIPS to return there.

But their dissatisfaction developed very quickly. Some of it arose from friction with the IIPS director, who had returned from the U.S. over a decade earlier and was equally disappointed that he had returned to India. (He, too, asked for my help in finding a U.S. job. He eventually got a World Bank appointment but was posted in India, rather than abroad.) But my two younger friends were particularly irritated by the lack of academic freedom, as opposed to what they had known in the U.S. They were also disappointed by the government red tape they encountered. The director himself was at odds with the government cabinet minister to whom he reported, and that friction sent sparks flying everywhere.

"I doubt that their countries would greatly miss them ... because the main problem is not shortage of skills but a great excess of people."

My two young friends were both able eventually to get UN posts in Africa, but they are back in India today. The IIPS director died suddenly after returning to IIPS on completion of his World Bank assignment. Interestingly, it was the cabinet minister who gained the permanent U.S. residence the other three men had hoped for — when he left Indian politics, he settled in California with his American wife.

This disappointment over having left the U.S. is quite widespread among those who returned to their home countries. One man whom I knew committed suicide after returning to an Indian agricultural research institute. He was believed to have become frustrated by inability to carry on the research which he had started in the U.S. and about which he was very enthused.

Nurses from India and Sri Lanka, with whom I was acquainted, were brought to the U.S or U.K. for advanced family planning training, but could not use their new skills when they returned home. One nurse from Sri Lanka inserted IUDs in American women while here but on returning home found that only doctors were permitted to do this procedure. Another nurse who received specialized training in England (and could have stayed there) returned with the feeling that she should use her new skills to benefit women in Sri Lanka. But, according to her brother, she was put back to "square one" and assigned such tasks as emptying bedpans.

What Is the Answer?

Should we compel skilled people to remain in their own less-developed countries and insist that they work for the betterment of their countries? We say that inducing skilled people to come here, or teaching people skills here and not requiring them to go home to use these skills, is a "brain drain." We may also say that such people should have the patriotism to help solve the problems of their own countries. Even the governments of those countries themselves accuse us of promoting a brain drain and robbing them of their best talent.

Outstanding scientific researchers have preferred to stay here because they find the adequate material, technical and monetary support that is lacking in their home countries. The Indian physicist Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar performed the research here that led to his Nobel prize, which he might not have received had he returned to India. The equally famous physicist Homi Bhabha, who might also have received a Nobel prize but for his untimely death, did return to India, but his return was fortuitous. He left Cambridge University for vacation in Bombay in 1939 and couldn't return to England because of the war. The Indian government, with the aid of both Indian and international donors, did eventually keep Bhabha in India by establishing an excellent research institute for his work and support. There is nothing approaching that institute elsewhere in India.

A much earlier Nobel scientist, Chandrasekhara V. Raman, did stay in India, and there were, of

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course, other great scientists who returned to their home countries or who had never left. Many of them were successful because they were politically favored or because they had enough perseverance to overcome the political obstacles and cultural rigidities which hindered so many others. But I must say that the obstacles can be overwhelming. Putting myself in the shoes of the Indians, Sri Lankans, Guatemalans and Africans I have worked with — and who sought to leave their countries — I must admit that I, too, would have sought to come here and stay here.

"Recent American-born PhDs in the sciences are having to compete for jobs against skilled immigrants..."

And I doubt that their countries would greatly miss them, whatever they might say to the contrary, because the main problem is not a shortage of skills but a great excess of people. There is such an ocean of unemployment, especially among those who finish their education, that every departure of a skilled Indian or African or Vietnamese to come here is viewed back home, not only as the source of remittances, but also as one less person blocking the employment or advancement of others.

Distant countries like India or China are more likely to lose their skilled people than their unskilled, because it is the former who are most able to afford the long journey. Mexico, on the other hand, probably manages to keep its skilled people while it eagerly sheds its unskilled.

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) reports that, among recent legal immigrants, only 5.6 percent were selected on the basis of their skills. Most of the others are relatives of previous immigrants. Skilled immigrants certainly have smaller families than the unskilled; the latter are more likely to bear even more children here than they would have borne had they stayed home. But the presence here of the skilled is not an unmixed blessing, since their presence affects the U.S. job market. Recent American-born PhDs in the sciences are having to compete for jobs against skilled immigrants from countries such as India and from the former Soviet Union.

This is unfortunate for those Americans who do not compete successfully or who may have to accept lower compensation when they are hired, though it may also be that the competition stimulates better effort.

Our immigration problem is indeed horrendous and begs for drastic and immediate solution. At least part of the solution must lie in helping to bring about changes that will keep people in their own countries. Certainly one such change is the reduction of fertility down to the level of mortality. That change alone would go far in creating the conditions in which the skilled and talented would be content to remain at home instead of seeking greener pastures. ■

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT On-Line

The text of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is now available on-line. If you have access to a computer that is connected to a modem that is at least 2400 baud, you can find the table of contents for any issue of the journal and call up articles of interest. If you have questions or need instructions contact the editorial offices at (616) 347-1171. The bulletin board telephone number is (616) 347-2716, the log-in name is HSDEBATE and the password is CONTRACT. That log-in name was chosen because the topic for high school debates in the 1994-95 school year was immigration reform.

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John Rohe practices property law in Petoskey, Michigan and has an avocational interest in immigration law and policy.

Plyler and Proposition 187

By John Rohe

The Proposition 187 debate will inescapably cause federal courts to revisit the frequently cited "Plyler case" [*Plyler v Doe and Texas v Certain Named and Unnamed Undocumented Alien Children*, 457 US 202; 102 S Cr 2382; 72 L Ed 2d 786 (1982)]. This pivotal 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision requires states to provide free public education to illegal alien children pursuant to the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. The court was divided 5 to 4. This article analyzes the Plyler facts, the issues, the law, the court and present considerations.

Facts

The Texas legislature revised its education laws in May, 1975 in two notable respects: first, state funds would no longer be used to subsidize local school districts for the education of children not legally admitted to the United States; and second, local school districts could deny public school enrollment to children not legally admitted to this country. A class action suit was filed in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Texas in September, 1977 on behalf of Mexican school-age children unable to establish legal admission into the United States. They sued the school superintendent and members of the board of school trustees. Plaintiffs asked the court to require the defendants to provide free education to members of plaintiff's class in this "class action" suit. The State of Texas was allowed to intervene as a defendant in this action.

Plyler was not, however, the only suit filed. Similar suits may be consolidated by the courts in the interest of judicial economy and efficiency. Therefore, in November, 1979, the Plyler case was consolidated with several other federal court cases assailing the same Texas statute.

Issues

There were two fundamental issues in the Plyler case. Both issues arose under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution which, in part, states: "No State shall ... deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." The first issue was whether an illegal alien qualifies as a "...person within its (the state) jurisdiction." If yes, then the second issue is whether the equal protection clause precludes a state from discriminating against illegal alien school age children by denying them the same educational opportunities provided children legally in this country.

The Law

The five justices concurring in the majority opinion and the four dissenters unanimously agreed that the Equal Protection Clause applies to aliens gaining entry into the United States and physically "within the jurisdiction" of a state. Having concluded that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applies to illegal alien school age children, the court then addressed the more divisive issue: whether the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a state from discriminating against illegal aliens in funding public schools.

The Equal Protection Clause presents an interesting intellectual challenge since, as a practical matter, every law treats some people differently than others. For example, traffic laws treat speeders and intoxicated persons differently than other drivers, yet the Equal Protection Clause is not offended. Criminal laws discriminate against murderers and rapists. If every system of classification were suspect under the Equal Protection Clause, no laws would survive constitutional muster.

If a law impinges upon a fundamental right explicitly or implicitly guaranteed by the Constitution, then only a compelling state interest would enable this law to survive constitutional scrutiny. For example, gender- or race-based classifications 9cases known as "suspect classifications") will seldom be found constitutional. Only compelling state interests would permit such legal classifications. On the other hand, if the classification does not impair a "fundamental right" then the Equal Protection Clause may be satisfied if there is a legitimate basis for the

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legislative distinction. A rational relationship to a legitimate state purpose will then suffice for Equal Protection purposes.

Are illegal aliens a "suspect classification", much like gender- or race-based classifications? All nine members of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1982 agreed than an illegal alien classification is not a "suspect classification." Accordingly, a "compelling state interest" is not required to sustain this legislative classification.

Is free education a "fundamental right" explicitly or implicitly guaranteed by the Constitution? Eight justices in Plyler concluded free public education is not a fundamental right. Justice Marshall's concurring opinion found education to be a fundamental right. He reaches this decision by relying upon "the unique status accorded public education by our society, and by the close relationship between education and some of our most basic constitutional values."

"Eight justices in Plyler concluded free public education is not a 'fundamental right'"

If illegal aliens are not a "suspect class" and if free public education is not a "fundamental right", then just how persuasive must the state interest be to justify the classification under the Equal Protection Clause? Is a "compelling state interest" required? Or will a legitimate state interest suffice? According to Justice Brennan, author of the majority opinion:

> *If the State is to deny a discrete group of innocent children the free public education that it offers to other children residing within its borders, that denial must be justified by a showing that it furthers some substantial state interest.*

Accordingly, the answer is neither on the compelling state interest nor on the legitimate state interest end of the spectrum. Justice Brennan would require a "substantial state interest."

The majority did not find a "substantial state interest" in any of the following justifications proposed by Texas:

1. The state's attempts to protect itself from the influx of illegal immigrants.

2. Illegal immigrants impose "special burdens" on the "State's ability to provide high-quality public education".

3. Undocumented children are "less likely than other children to remain within the boundaries of the State, and to put their education to productive social or political use within the State."

A majority of the court determined equal protection rights of the illegal alien children to have been violated since they were denied the same free public education afforded other persons in the state's jurisdiction.

The majority expressed concern over the creation of a perpetual underclass deprived of educational opportunities. The court determined many illegal alien children would either remain in this country illegally or would eventually become naturalized citizens. Indeed, the majority claims they enjoy an "inchoate federal permission to remain." Imposing a lifetime hardship upon these citizens could handicap the nation, according to the majority. Justice Brennan states:

> *This situation raises the specter of a permanent caste of undocumented resident aliens, encouraged by some to remain here as a source of cheap labor, but nevertheless denied the benefits that our society makes available to citizens and lawful residents. The existence of such an underclass presents most difficult problems for a nation that prides itself on adherence to principles of equality under law.*

The majority also considered it unfair to visit the migratory sins of the parents upon their innocent children. Shortcomings in the control of our borders should not, according to the majority, be remedied by withholding educational funding.

Chief Justice Burger was joined in his dissent by Justices White, Rehnquist and O'Connor. The dissent acknowledged it may be "folly — and wrong — to tolerate creation of a segment of society made up of illiterate persons, many having a limited or no command of our language." In fact, Justice Burger's dissent states: "Denying a free education to illegal alien children is not a choice I would make were I a legislator. Apart from compassionate considerations, the long-range costs of excluding any children from the public schools may well outweigh the costs of educating them." Nevertheless, Justice Burger and the other three dissenters recognized a distinction between

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legislative functions and judicial functions. According to the dissent, a decision to exclude illegal aliens from public education is properly relegated to the legislature and not to the courts.

The dissenters were also critical of the majority's creation of a "quasi-suspect class" and a "quasi-fundamental rights" analysis. "If ever a court was guilty of an unabashedly result-oriented approach, this case is a prime example", according to Justice Burger's dissent. He writes:

> *Without laboring what will undoubtedly seem obvious to many, it simply is not "irrational" for a state to conclude that it does not have the same responsibility to provide benefits for persons whose very presence in this state and this country is illegal as it does to provide for persons lawfully present. By definition, illegal aliens have no rights whatever to be here, and the state may reasonably, and constitutionally, elect not to provide them with governmental services at the expense of those who are lawfully in the state.*

The Court

The nine members of the U.S. Supreme Court in this 1982 decision divided their vote five to four. The five members of the majority opinion were: Justices Brennan, Marshall, Blackmun, Powell and Stevens. The dissenters were Chief Justice Burger, joined by Justices White, Rehnquist, and O'Connor. Of the five members requiring states to provide free public education to illegal immigrants, only Justice Stevens remains on the court today. Of the four dissenters, Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justice O'Connor are still on the bench.

Present Considerations

Plyler will be fundamental and precedential in the judicial appeal of California's Proposition 187. Current facts and considerations warrant a re-evaluation of this 1982 decree. For example:

1. **Court composition**. As indicated above, since 1982, six of the nine faces on the U.S. Supreme Court are new. When the nine justices discuss this case, two voices from 1982 will likely favor reversing Plyler and one may recommend it be affirmed.

2. **Heightened sensitivity.** Plyler analyzed a right to education which was admittedly neither explicitly protected by the Constitution nor deemed "fundamental" and it did not discriminate against a "suspect class" (illegal entrants). The decision invoked subjective analysis. Immigration reform is now recognized as a far more prominent national issue. The six new members inescapably will have a heightened sensitivity to the consequences of their decisions.

3. **Protection against invasion**. It's not particularly surprising that the Supreme Court would afford a certain measure of protection for free public education. Education is, after all, essential for our children to perpetuate a tradition, or even a civilization. It is, however, astonishing that the U.S. Supreme Court was incapable of identifying any countervailing public policies. For example, Article IV, §4 of the U.S. Constitution states:

> *The United States shall ... protect each State against invasion...*

The massive wave of legal and illegal immigration presents unprecedented environmental and fiscal pressures. The "invasions" of colonial times pale by comparison in scale and effect.

The Supreme Court also did not consider Article IV, § 2 of the U.S. Constitution, the "comity clause" which states: "...the Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the Privileges and Immunities of the Citizens in the several States." The framers could have said "the citizens of each State *and all immigrants* shall be entitled..., but they chose not to.

4. **Educational incentives**. The majority opinion in Plyler recognized the importance of an informed electorate in the democratic process. Since, as the majority concluded, many of the illegal immigrant children would remain in this country, it was believed to be in the nation's best interest to assure their education. Does only the state have an incentive to educate children? Don't the parents have an even greater commitment to provide education to their offspring? If free education were not provided by the state, would not the parents have the incentive to return their children to their country of origin where public education would be provided?

5. **Lax enforcement.** Brennan's majority opinion partially relies upon "...lax enforcement of the laws barring entry into this country, coupled with the failure to establish an effective bar to the employment

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who cannot speak Spanish? What about the right of the American people to have their government function efficiently?"

He predicted that the ruling would in the long run "probably benefit the drive to make English the official language of the United States." As another example of what he called folly, he pointed to the vote of the Los Angeles City Council last week to approve publishing official documents in *six languages* in addition to English. Mujica said this move would at least double the expense of printing and would further balkanize the city.

AOE's Park told us that in light of the 9th Circuit's ruling, "public employees now can choose any language they want to conduct state business in. Cambodian employees, Swedish employees, anyone can use any language he wants no matter what the degree of chaos involved. Judge Reinhardt has suggested in the past that if problems arise, bilingual supervisors can be hired to keep business running smoothly."

Park pointed out that the ballot initiative "specifically exempts state workers using foreign languages in contexts which involve the public health or safety, like doctors and nurses examining the sick or injured or like police officers, firemen questioning non-English speaking people, etc. But any official state reports or court judgments must be in English."

"With the new ruling that will all change," Park said and joked, "Apparently, Judge Reinhardt himself could have legally written his recent ruling in Cambodian if he had so chosen." ■

Adding to the Country's Wealth and Strength

SPEECHES IN THE FIRST CONGRESS — SECOND SESSION, 1790

February 3. Naturalization of Aliens

When we are considering the advantages that may result from an easy mode of naturalization, we ought also to consider the cautions necessary to guard against abuses. It is no doubt very desirable that we should hold out as many inducements as possible for the worthy part of mankind to come and settle amongst us, and throw their fortunes into a common lot with ours. But why is this desirable? Not merely to swell the catalogue of people. No, sir, it is to increase the wealth and strength of the community; and those who acquire the rights of citizenship, without adding to the strength or wealth of the community, are not the people we are in want of. And what is proposed by the amendment is, that they shall take nothing more than an oath of fidelity, and declare their intention to reside in the United States. Under such terms, it was well observed by my colleague, aliens might acquire the right of citizenship, and return to the country from which they came, and evade the laws intended to encourage the commerce and industry of the real citizens and inhabitants of America, enjoying at the same time all the advantages of citizens and aliens.

I should be exceedingly sorry, sir, that our rule of naturalization excluded a single person of good fame that really meant to incorporate himself into our society; on the other hand, I do not wish that any man should acquire the privilege, but such as would be a real addition to the wealth or strength of the United States.

It may be a question of some nicety, how far we can make our law to admit an alien to the right of citizenship, step by step; but there is no doubt we may, and ought to require residence as an essential.

— James Madison

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Are the Urban Institute's Estimates of Taxes Paid by Illegal Aliens Reasonable?

By Linda Thom

As the immigration debate has escalated, dueling studies have concluded that immigrants pay more in taxes than they receive in public services while other studies have concluded quite the contrary: that immigrants use billions more in services than they pay in taxes. The reports are lengthy and tedious and not readily available to or understandable by the public. Many individuals, therefore, have opinions which may or may not be based on fact.

The author has read most of these reports, including those of the Urban Institute (UI) whose reports state that overall immigrants "pay their way"; that is, they pay more in taxes than they cost the taxpayers in public services they receive. The Urban Institute, however, has concluded that illegal aliens cost states more in public services than they pay in state taxes (Clark, Urban Institute, September 1994). Despite this conclusion, the UI study has significant flaws in the estimated incomes earned and taxes paid by illegal aliens. Some of the analysis is complicated and will not be discussed. Understanding the flaws in the sales tax estimates is easy and that is the focus here.

Dueling Studies

In early 1994, the federal office of Management and Budget and the Department of Justice commissioned the Urban Institute to study the state-level costs and tax revenues generated by illegal aliens. The Urban Institute released *Fiscal Impacts of Undocumented Aliens: Selected Estimates for Seven States* in September 1994. On the same day, Governor Pete Wilson's office of Planning and Research and the California Department of Finance released a cost study entitled *Shifting the Costs of a Failed Federal Policy: The Net Fiscal Impact of Illegal Immigrants in California.*

Senator Barbara Boxer of California asked the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) to assess these two reports and to reconcile the discrepancies in the California state data. The GAO released its report, *Illegal Aliens: Assessing Estimates of Financial Burden of California in December 1994.* To avoid much detail, the bottom line is that all three reports concluded that illegal aliens cost more in state services used than they pay in taxes to the states.

"... [the] study has significant flaws in the estimated incomes earned and taxes paid by illegal aliens."

The Wilson Administration study examined several independent studies of immigrants' public costs and tax payments, among them the Urban Institute's national study (Passel, *Immigrants and Taxes: A Reappraisal of Huddle's "The Cost of Immigrants,"* January 1994). The California report sharply criticized many of the studies with high estimates of taxes paid by immigrants, especially the sales tax estimates. The California report said, "...the high and median effective sales tax rates of 4.95% and 4.55% respectively imply that ninety to ninety-nine percent of illegal immigrants' incomes are spent on taxable items. With rent, services, food, funds sent to the country of origin, and other tax payments exempt from sales tax, this is an impossible assertion," (Romero, *Shifting the Costs*, p.14). The California report concluded that the maximum limit of

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Table 1
1991 California Returns and Income Taxes by Income Range

Income in thousands	% of total returns in this range	Taxes paid per return in this range	% of total taxes paid in this range
up to $10	28%	$4	0.1%
$10 to $20	21%	$83	1.5%
$20 to $30	15%	$340	4%
$30 to $40	11%	$710	7%
$40 to $50	8%	$1,011	7%
$50 to $60	5%	$1,511	7%
$60 to $70	4%	$2,014	7%
$70 to $100	6%	$3,120	15%
Over $100	4%	$13,904	52%

taxes paid by immigrants was probably about the middle of the range for all the independent studies.

The GAO identified problems with revenue estimates for the UI and the independent studies discussed in the California report, and determined that it was unclear how much immigrants paid in taxes. The GAO report also concluded that the Urban Institute estimate of taxes would probably be at the high end of the range of those studies examined and criticized by the California report.

The UI report studied the three major state costs of education, incarceration, and Medicaid services for illegal aliens, and also included the estimated state income, sales and property taxes. The study did not encompass an estimate of federal taxes nor any other state and local taxes that illegal aliens pay as the scope of the report was the effects of illegal aliens on states, not the federal government. This report concluded that in 1992 California illegal immigrants paid $732 million total for the three taxes listed above; further, it concluded that the total of the three taxes studied for all the seven states amounted to $1,866 million. California illegal aliens, therefore, paid 39% of the total taxes for the seven states studied according to the Urban Institute. As the California tax share is so large a portion of the total taxes for the nation, if the California tax estimates are flawed, then the total taxes estimated by the Urban Institute are flawed.

The UI study states that California's illegal aliens paid 1.7% of all three taxes studied and that illegal aliens constituted 4.6% of California's population in 1992. The report states, "...this relatively smaller share of revenues is attributable principally to the lower-than-average-incomes of undocumented immigrants" (Clark, p.15).

The most recent, publicly available income tax data for the state is 1991, a year prior to the Urban Institute tax revenue data. Table 1 shows data from the Franchise Tax Board Annual Report on returns and taxes paid for 1991.

Cooking the Books

The income shown in Table 1 is Adjusted Gross Income which is lower than personal income used by the Urban Institute; nevertheless, what is very important to note is that 49% of the returns filed had adjusted gross income of less than $20,000. These 49% of the tax filers paid 1.6% of the income taxes paid for the state in 1991. Governor Wilson's proposed budget for fiscal year 1995-96 states that in 1992, those with incomes under $20,000 made up nearly half the income tax returns and paid 1.3% of the personal income taxes collected (Governor Wilson, p.116). In 1992, low income people paid even less in taxes than they did in 1991.

Recall that the Urban Institute study said that in 1992 illegal aliens, who made up 4.6% of the state population, paid 1.7% of all collections for the three taxes studied. Recall also that the Urban Institute study stated that the incomes of illegal aliens were *lower* than the average. Could it be that 4.6% of the population who are illegal aliens paid 1.7% of the total taxes if almost half of California income tax returns accounted for 1.3% of the income taxes paid in 1992? In order for this to be true, illegal aliens would have to pay a very high proportion of the total sales and property taxes to account for this very wide

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Table 2
Urban Institute Estimates of Total Taxes Paid by California Illegal Aliens in 1992

STATE TAX	AMOUNT PAID	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Total Taxes	$732 million	100%
General Sales Tax	$467 million	64%
Property Tax	$219 million	30%
Income Tax	$46 million	6%

gap. It might also be that the UI income estimate for illegal aliens is too high.

Table 2 shows a breakdown of the three taxes studied by the Urban Institute and their assessment of taxes paid by illegal aliens in California in 1992 (Clark, Table 6.2). According to the UI study, the income taxes paid are only 6% of the total of the three taxes studied. The largest tax paid is the sales tax according to the UI. The sales tax accounts for 64% of the total taxes paid by illegal aliens. The California general sales tax is 7.25% It is regressive. This means that low-income people pay proportionally more of their incomes in sales taxes than do high-income people. It does not mean that people with less income pay more sales taxes than high income people.

To understand these taxes on a personal level, we will examine the per capita incomes and the per capita taxes paid according to the UI study. The UI uses the Immigration and Naturalization Service's estimate of the number of illegal aliens residing in California in 1992. That number is 1.41 million people. In addition, the Urban Institute states that the per capita income of California's illegal aliens was $6,752 in 1992 (Clark, Table 6.5).

If we divide the aggregate taxes paid according to the UI study above ($732 million, Table 2) by the number of illegal aliens, 1,410,000, then we get the per capita taxes paid by illegal aliens in 1992 ($519, Table 3).

If we subtract $519 in total taxes paid from the UI estimated per capita income of illegal aliens, $6,752, that leaves $6,233. That seems reasonable enough, but how much does an illegal immigrant have to spend on taxable items to pay $331 in general sales tax? The general sales tax is 7.25%. To determine the sales necessary to generate $331 in sales tax, we divide $331 by .0725 and we get $4,566 in taxable purchases an illegal immigrant would have to make to pay $331 in sales tax. After paying the three taxes studied by the Urban Institute, the illegal alien had $6,233 remaining so if we subtract $4,566 in taxable sales required to pay $331 in sales tax, we get $1,667 annually remaining for each illegal alien.

From this $1,667 annual figure, an illegal alien also has to pay federal income taxes, Social Security Taxes, Medicare, gasoline taxes, among others. As an example, the Social Security and Medicare taxes are a flat 7.65% of payroll so with an income of $6,752, an illegal alien would have to pay $517 annually. If we subtract $517 from the $1,667 above which remained after we subtracted state taxes and taxable sales, we get $1,150 remaining to pay food and rent and the other taxes which were not included in the calculations above. A summary follows:

Income	$6,752
Less:	
State taxes	-$519
Taxable purchases	-$4,566
Social Sec. & Medicare-	$517
Other Taxes	?
Remaining income for food, etc.	$1,150

If we assume a household of three, then there would be 3 times $1,150 or $3,450 annually or $288 per month left to pay the rent, food bills and the rest

Table 3
Urban Institute Estimates of Per Capita Taxes Paid by California illegal Aliens in 1992

Per Capita Income	$6,752
Per Capita Sales Tax Paid	$331
Per Capita Income Tax Paid	$33
Per Capita Property Tax Paid	$155
Total of the three taxes	$519

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of the taxes. The UI study said that illegal aliens had lower incomes than the average. Note that an illegal alien household of three would have a gross income of 3 times $6,752 annually or $20,256 and almost half of all tax filers in California had adjusted gross incomes less than $20,000 in 1992.

Does This Make Sense — or Cents?

Does this make sense? Of course not. Illegal immigrants do not pay their way and all studies agree on this point. Moreover, the Urban Institute's estimation of taxes paid by illegal aliens is too high so the costs borne by the states are even greater than was estimated by the Urban Institute. The California report on illegal aliens commenting on the high sales tax revenue estimated by the independent studies says: "These exaggerated tax rates produce overestimates of state sales taxes paid by illegal immigrants by one-hundred to one-hundred twenty percent" (Romero, p.14). Governor Wilson's Administration is correct. The Urban Institute is incorrect. It's common sense.

As the Urban Institute methodology for calculating taxes for illegal immigrants was the same for all seven states studied, the taxes estimated by the UI are too high for all seven states. The sales taxes accounted for 57% of all the taxes paid by illegal aliens according to the Urban Institute. As the Urban Institute used the same sales tax calculation methodology in prior studies for all groups of immigrants (legal, refugee and illegal), the Urban Institute estimates in all studies are wrong. ■

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The Cultural Defense

The man accused of murdering a Chinese restaurant owner in the Republic Plaza Food Court is using an unusual defense at his sanity trial. Yi Ching Chou, 48, claims that an ongoing dispute with restaurant owner Wen Cheng Hsieh, 43, caused him to repeatedly "lose face," provoking the mental state that led to the showdown at the food court April 27, court documents say. Chou's sanity trial is underway in Denver District Court.

A court-appointed psychiatrist has found Chou to be legally sane and competent to stand trial. But a defense psychologist says Chou is insane and suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome stemming from severe beatings and canings he received as a child. The defense plans to call Hsein Sheng Ma of San Francisco to testify that Hsieh's death can only be understood in the context of Chinese culture. He said Chou's loss of face began with a fight between the two men in January 1993 in which Hsieh punched Chou.

"This would have been considered by Mr. Chou as a great loss of face and self-respect," Ma wrote in a court document. After the fight, Chou repeatedly asked Hsieh to pay his medical bills, which, Ma said, could have resolved the situation. "This would be considered an attempt to save face, Ma said.

Hsieh, however, characterized Chou's efforts as extortion. Chou was forced to save face by seeking revenge, Ma said.

The prosecution will call Freda Kau-Pong Cheung, a psychologist at the University of California at Los Angeles. She will testify that Chinese culture emphasizes harmony, not violence, and that loss of face never justifies murder.

— Sue Lindsay, *Rocky Mountain News*, March 1, 1995

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Immigration as a National Security Issue

By John Martin

The term national security has in the past usually conjured up images of the threat of nuclear warfare, espionage or of being cut off from vital petroleum supplies. Most of those images were linked to the Cold War environment, and — like the Cuban missile crisis — were real at the time, but today have lost much of their former relevance. Does that mean that national security is a less important concern now than a decade ago?

No, it does not, but the agenda has changed. To some extent, the end of the Cold War has facilitated a focus on other international conditions that are every bit as troubling to the long-term U.S. national interest as the former agenda — albeit less apocalyptic. On that new agenda, the issues of population, environment and migration occupy prominent positions. It is not that they are new issues, but rather that their significance was overshadowed by our previous preoccupations.

A New Security Focus

If we think of the national security agenda as composed of issues that have the potential to pose threats to the life and/or lifestyle of significant numbers of Americans, we have seen several recent foreign policy challenges — like Somalia, in which U.S. troops were committed to foreign peacekeeping operations. We also have experienced recent migration flows that have directly affected the United States, e.g., the influxes from Haiti and Cuba. We are likely to see more of these situations in the future.

The past decade has produced profound geopolitical change. There have been positive changes in regional flashpoints like the Middle East, South Africa and Central America, where there is now a prospect of long term stability and economic development based on the rule of law. But, on the other hand, the end of the Cold War has removed some of the long-standing discipline on foreign leaders, in effect creating a partial power vacuum. And, into this void, new actors have moved to try to take advantage of new opportunities. At the same time, the new democracies of this hemisphere are still frail, and the United States has not shown the ability, either alone or in tandem efforts with European allies or the United Nations, to react surely and effectively to chaos or bullyism. We are faced with violence and troubling political instability in parts of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, in African countries such as Liberia, Somalia and Rwanda, and with international aggression by countries like Iraq. In this hemisphere we find our troops committed to peacekeeping in Haiti and acting as refugee camp guards at the base at Guantanamo and in Panama.

What Are the Implications for the United States?

How do these international events affect the United States, other than by evoking our sympathies? There are, of course, pocketbook issues. But beyond questions of fiscal resources, our concern for the plight of others holds direct implications for the country, because, in addition to sending peacekeeping troops, foodstuffs or other emergency assistance, we also often end up accommodating as refugees or temporary settlers in the United States persons fleeing the chaos.

Even if we were to shift our focus more to helping displaced persons and refugees abroad, rather than bringing or admitting them here, still we are likely to have to deal domestically with protection issues caused by international crises. There were nearly 450,000 foreign students in the United States in the past school year, and there were about 60 countries that contributed over 1,000 students each. This number is apart from tourists or business people or

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diplomats, all of whom may seek to remain here legally or illegally if conditions become unsettled in their home country. While a few thousand meritorious cases of foreigners needing protection can be accommodated here with little impact, the cumulative effect of instability in multiple areas of the world, at a time when U.S. immigration is already running at nearly one million newcomers per year, is an issue of growing concern.

The Commission on Immigration Reform (CIR), headed by former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, is in the process of studying how the United States should respond to mass migrations. It is clear that there is concern about what the future may hold for us and about our ability to respond effectively. The focus of the current study is on whether a system of safehavens, like the Guantanamo base currently being used for Cuban and Haitian rafters, or the one in Panama for Cubans, offer long-term solutions. That review is prompted by the events of 1994, in which a surge of some 32,000 Cubans and 20,000 Haitians were intercepted by the Coast Guard and taken to Guantanamo. Some in the administration profess to see the result — stemming the tide of mass migration — as a success. That perspective is challenged by our ongoing responsibility for tens of thousands of these rafters who appear to have no interest in returning home. Perhaps the adminsitration's concept of success comes from comparing the result to the 125,000 Cubans who arrived on our shore during the 1980 *Mariel* boatlift.

> *While the United States must maintain our commitment to generous and humane immigration and refugee policies, we cannot admit all who want to enter the country. Under the economic and job market pressures we face today, we cannot afford to lose control of our borders or take on new financial burdens.*
>
> —Bill Clinton, 10/15/93

Time to Go Home

What about mass migrations that do not have to rely on sailing to this country? Already somewhat forgotten by the American public are the Central Americans who, faced with severe political instability and violence in their countries, marched northward during the 1980s. We were recently reminded of that migration because tens of thousands of the Salvadorans who were given temporary protection in this country are still here and we are now contemplating asking them to return to El Salvador. Whether these Salvadorans, who have been living, working, going to school and giving birth to U.S. citizens here for an extended period of time will return to their country or fight to remain here as legal or illegal residents will be watched closely as a sign of how generous the United States can be in the future toward others seeking temporary protection.

The Salvadoran situation points up the dilemma for a developed country in responding to mass migration flows from a developing country. The debate in the 1980s, as Central Americans arrived in the United States after illegally crossing the border from Mexico, was whether these were in fact political refugees — who should be accorded asylum status — or rather were persons seeking to take advantage of American concerns about the violence in their region to seek a greater economic opportunity.

"...if these Salvadorans were in fact simply escaping the political chaos in their country, shouldn't they be ready to return home now that the insurgency has ended...?"

The question today is, if these Salvadorans were in fact simply escaping the political chaos in their country, shouldn't they be ready to return home now that the insurgency has ended, and a democratically-elected government is rebuilding the country? The Bush Administration came to the conclusion in 1992 that political conditions were safe for Salvadorans to return home. Was there, at that time, the beginning of an orderly process of return? Not that anyone has documented. Rather, at the request of the Salvadoran government, a new 18-month deferral of the end of the protected status was adopted. The administration has now allowed that status to lapse, but in its place has provided a new grace period of an additional nine months during which Salvadorans may maintain their jobs and pursue the means to stay permanently in the United States. Apart from the temporarily-protected Salvadorans, there are another 60,000 Salvadorans in the asylum backlog. About 50,000 Salvadorans are beneficiaries of an asylum status class action.

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What has happened to the Nicaraguans and Guatemalans for whom we provided temporary protection? Guatemalans who were protected in Mexico in refugee camps under United Nations auspices have already gone home. But, despite the end of the conditions that led us to take migrants from these Central American countries under our wing, there is no record of a similar return of Guatemalans or Nicaraguans from the United States. Rather, these nationals have swelled the backlog of pending asylum cases. There are about 100,000 Guatemalans on the backlog. Is the message for the United States that, whatever the original motive, temporary protection will become a backdoor route to immigrant status in this country? If so, does that mean that we need to rethink our response to mass migration flows? The answer clearly seems to be yes.

Mexico: A Special Case

Finally, to underscore the national security implications of mass migration flows, it is relevant to give a hard look toward Mexico. Mexico is increasingly prosperous and has just completed an orderly democratic election despite the assassination of the ruling party's candidate. That bodes well for future political stability. But, it must be remembered that Mexico has no experience with peaceful transfer of power between political parties at the national level, that a revolutionary insurrection that broke out in the past year is still simmering, and that Mexico's population is growing faster than its ability to create new jobs. Mexico's natural population growth rate is now 2.3 percent (about three times the U.S. rate). All these latter facts underscore the importance of paying close attention to political developments in that country. [Editor's note: This paper was written prior to the fall of the peso and the subsequent turmoil.]

If there were serious political disturbances in Mexico, what would that mean for the United States? That question is relevant not only because of current conditions, but also because of our historical experience. We should recall that during Mexico's 1910 revolution at least half a million of the country's then 15 million citizens sought sanctuary here. A similar rate of refuge seekers, with today's Mexican population of 92 million, would amount to over three million people. It could be even greater, given that the Mexican population is now more concentrated in border cities — estimated now to be about six million. Last year we recorded about a million apprehensions of Mexicans illegally crossing the border into the United States. How would we handle detention and removal of Mexicans if they were able to credibly claim to be escaping political conditions at home?

Growing Demographic Pressures

According to the Population Reference Bureau (PRB), Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Central America currently have a combined population of 142 million people. Among these countries, only Cuba has a rate of population growth as low as our own. All of the countries of Central America have growth rates even higher than in Mexico. That gives these countries an average population doubling time of 29 years; i.e., by 2023, the population is projected, on the basis of current demographic assumptions, to increase from today's 142 million inhabitants to 284 million (See Table).

Projected Population Growth in Mexico, Central America, Cuba and the Dominican Republic: 1994-2025 (millions of people)

1994 Population Estimate	142.0
2025 Projected Population (natural rate)	297.8
2025 Population Planning Projection	221.0
Difference in 2025	76.8
U.S. Admissions Projected through 2025	6.9
Unaccounted-for Population	69.9

Will these countries be prepared to care for, educate and employ an additional 142 million people? Perhaps politicians in these countries are counting on being able to export their surplus labor force to the United States. Other data, also collected by the PRB,

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reflect national governmental planning projections of population size for the same countries. By 2025, those estimates total a population of 221 million. If the natural rate of increase is extended two years to make the two estimates comparable, the natural growth rate estimate is 297.8 million in 2025. That is 76.8 million more people than national planners are projecting.

The difference between the natural rate of increase and the projected population may be understood as the number of people (and their offspring) whom the national planners expect to emigrate. Virtually all of the migration from this area is to the United States. Are we prepared to accommodate this number of immigrants from these neighboring countries? The current level of legal admissions from these countries in the past fiscal year was 223 thousand (about a quarter of all legal immigration). Over a period of 31 years at the same rate, we would admit 6.9 million immigrants from this area. There also will be some illegal immigrants from these countries, and the immigrants to the United States will have U.S. citizen children. But, legislation to be considered in the new Congress will aim to reduce both legal and illegal immigration. What these projections suggest is that there is a huge discrepancy between population increases in neighboring countries for which national planners are supposedly preparing and much larger populations with which they are likely to be confronted. The 70 million difference is an enormous challenge for our neighbors, potentially very politically destabilizing, and it cannot help but have major policy implications for us.

A Need for Cooperation

Future international conditions and their impact on the United States constitute a much more complex agenda than was discussed in December at the hemispheric conference in Miami, or in the NAFTA negotiations with Mexico and Canada. So far, the agenda for regional cooperation has not included the issues of population planning and migration patterns. The recent Cairo Conference on Population and Development did identify troubling future trends in these policy areas. Yet that conference only dealt in a pro forma fashion with migratory pressures resulting from over-population, environmental degradation, and political instability.

Increasingly, the United States will be called on to help other countries address the results of high population growth rates, over-taxed supplies of food and non-renewable resources, and political instability — all of which will contribute to large-scale migrations. In this environment, the United States will need to have a clearly defined political consensus on how best to allocate finite national resources to various international appeals and how to respond to the plight of those who wind up at or inside our portals seeking our protection and our hospitality. ■

[Editor's Note: Readers who wish to pursue the national security consequences of demographic change may wish to read "National Security Study Memorandum 200: World Population and U.S. Security" by Stephen Mumford, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, Vol.III, No.2, Winter 1992-93, pp.116-125; and the review of Mr. Mumford's newest book on NSSM 200 on pages ???? of this issue.]

The Critical Need for Discussion

"It is better to debate a question
without settling it
Than to settle a question
without debating it."

— Joseph Joubert (1754-1824)

Cited in Bander, D.L., "Why Consider Opposing Viewpoints?"
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Drugs Flowing Freely At Mexican Border

By H. G. Reza

San Diego, CA — The amount of cocaine seized from Mexican trucks and cargo at the border plummeted last year, as U.S. Customs Service officials pressed on with a program to promote trade by letting most commercial cargo enter the United States without inspection.

Not a single pound of cocaine was confiscated from more than 2 million trucks that passed through three of the busiest entry points along the Southwest border, where federal officials say most of the drug enters the country.

Of the 62,000 pounds of cocaine that customs agents seized from commercial cargo nationwide, less than a ton, or 3.2 percent, was taken from shipments along the border.

One reason for the sharp decline in seizures is that customs officials appear to be doing a poor job of identifying and inspecting those trucks and cargo containers being used for drug smuggling, according to an internal report dated December 13.

Officials say liberalized importing procedures have dramatically increased the number of trucks crossing the border from Mexico, producing trade benefits for both countries. And now the Customs Service also is considering new measures to speed up the entry of air and auto travelers into the United States.

Since last summer, federal authorities have been looking into allegations that corrupt customs officials and inspectors are tipping smugglers that certain shipments and vehicles have been targeted for narcotics inspections.

Sources said investigators also are examining allegations that:

- Some inspectors and officials in San Diego were bribed by Mexican drug rings to remove intelligence information from U.S. Customs computers.
- Inspectors and officials in the Long Beach area were bribed to allow drugs from Mexico and contraband, including AK-47 rifles and ammunition from China, to be smuggled into the ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles in ship containers.

Sources also said importers allegedly were charged up to $425 per container for hundreds of examinations that were never done.

In interviews, Justice Department officials declined to confirm or deny the existence of the investigations.

In 1986, Customs began a "facilitation" policy to speed up the shipment of cargo from Canada, and the program was expanded to the Mexican border in recent years.

"One reason for the sharp decline in seizures [of cocaine] is that customs officials appear to be doing a poor job of identifying and inspecting those trucks and cargo containers being used for drug smuggling."

Former Customs Commissioner William Von Raab, who helped establish the program on the Canadian border, said he was "shocked" when it later was used on the Mexican border.

"It's terrible. [This] was developed to be used at a border with the highest level of integrity and lowest level of risk," Von Raab said. "I certainly would never have deployed it at the Mexican border." ■

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Reprinted with permission from the Christian Science Monitor, *of December 20, 1994.*

Mexico Takes Flack Over Its Version of Proposition 187

By Leon Lazaroff

When José Ramón Aviles left his native Honduras to look for a job in the United States, he never expected to be nabbed by migration police in Mexico.

Standing in a park near the Mexican border, Mr. Aviles says he was roughed up by the police, stripped of his money ($65), and left in a jail for three days without food. "The police are criminals," he said.

At a time when Mexico's new president, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, is vigorously protesting California's Proposition 187 and calling for improved treatment of undocumented immigrants in the U.S., Central and South Americans hoping to reach the U.S. through Mexico are complaining just as angrily about mistreatment and discrimination in Mexico.

Bishop Jorge Arizmendi of Tapachula, Mexico, a city of about 300,000 just 15 miles north of the seedy crossroads of Tećún Umán, says that human rights violations against undocumented Central and South Americans have long been the status quo along the country's often-forgotten southern border.

Zedillo Pledge

A month ago, Bishop Arizmendi and other southern Mexico clergymen had a chance to privately press their concerns with Zedillo, who was then president-elect. A few days later, during a stopover in Guatemala City, Zedillo pledged to upgrade the treatment of undocumented Central American immigrants.

So far, though, Arizmendi reports only a stepped-up presence of immigration police and roadblocks. Many presume the increase is a result of U.S. government pressure stemming from [California's] Proposition 187 to stem the flow of illegals. A U.S. government official denied any connection. "Just as our government is demanding the protection of human rights for the Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States, we must do the same here," says Arizmendi. "It simply must be said: the undocumented have no rights under Mexican law."

Arizmendi hopes Zedillo's outspoken criticism of the controversial California proposition, which limits availability of social services going to undocumented workers, will pressure Mexico's government to examine its own rough treatment of undocumented immigrants.

Government officials though, have preferred to keep public focus on their northern border. In recent years, Mexico has pointed to the 40,000 Guatemalans living in camps for political refugees in the state of Campeche as proof of its respect for immigrants.

"[For admission] ...schools require a birth certificate or a passport and visa. But few immigrants [to Mexico] hold such documents and are commonly turned away."

But with wars in Central America officially over, fewer refugees are able to get an immigration hearing. Deportations have risen from 90,000 in 1990 to more than 143,000 in 1993, according to the National Migration Institute in Mexico City.

Thumbing a Ride

In hot and humid Tecún Umán, the hundreds of Central Americans and even occasional Chinese and Egyptians hanging around for a shot at a northbound ride are mostly migrants seeking a better wage.

Although few aim to work in Mexico, many find themselves in jails or held over in cities such as Tapachua contemplating their next move. And while Mexican law champions human rights and guarantees education and medical services, human rights advocates say police and government authorities are uncooperative.

"There is often a gap between what is written in

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the law and what the reality is on the ground — particularly in far-flung places like Chiapas," says Bill Frelick, director of the Washington D.C.-based U.S. Committee for Refugees.

While a public education is guaranteed for every child regardless of citizenship, schools require a birth certificate or a passport and visa. But few immigrants hold such documents and are commonly turned away. Medical care, too, requires similar documentation. Like undocumented Mexicans working on California farms, Guatemalan and Honduran farm hands can similarly triple their wages by landing work in northern Mexican states of Sonora and Sinaloa. But once there, workers complain of having to accept sub-minimum pay, excessive hours, and poor housing. "This is a terrible injustice that must change," says Oswaldo Valdemar Cuevas, Guatemalan consul in Tapachula.

But change is not on the horizon. Since Zedillo has made opposition to Prop. 187 a high priority, raising the issue at the recent Americas Summit in Miami, drawing attention to Mexico's own deficiencies is unlikely.

"People say that with [Prop.] 187, Mexicans in California will be denied basic services and discrimination will be rampant," says Celso López, editor of Tapachula's newspaper, *Diario del Sur*. "But that's what's been happening here for years." ■

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Elias Castillo, a former San Jose Mercury News *reporter, teaches journalism and writes from Redwood City, California. Reprinted by permission from* The San Francisco Examiner.

Homegrown Pressures for Reform

By Elias Castillo

For decades, America has helped take care of Mexico's wretched poor, fleeing the hopeless squalor and corruption of their country. Millions of Mexicans have fled nightmarish slums and illegally crossed into the United States in search of a better life. A few have succeeded economically. Most have not. Despite living in poverty in the United States, it is still a step up from the misery of being poor in Mexico.

Mexico's rulers have coldly counted on the United States to absorb the downtrodden, whose migration acts as a safety valve, easing pressures for reform in the nation to our south.

Yet if those millions of poverty-stricken Mexicans were forced to remain in Mexico, it is likely they would demand massive reforms against the dishonesty and inefficiency that has made a misery of their lives.

Reforms in Mexico must be made because the United States cannot continue caring for the citizens of another country while America tries to ease poverty among its own people. Already, Florida and California, in lawsuits filed against the federal government, say they cannot continue spending billions on health care, education and incarceration of illegal migrants. They demand the federal government compensate them for those costs.

Meanwhile, Sen. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., and California Governor Pete Wilson have called on the U.S. government to seal the border with Mexico. Their idea makes sense. While adding border guards will probably evoke protests from Mexico, it could also force its government to begin caring for its own citizens, rather than shoveling them across the border like so much offal.

All nations have a responsibility to improve life for their citizens, and Mexico has tragically failed to fulfill that basic mandate.

The Mexican government, time and again, when confronted with its seeming lack of concern for its citizens, has pleaded that it is a poor nation, overpopulated and with scarce resources to properly care for them. However, this is difficult to believe since the Mexican economy in recent years has spawned 12 billionaires, dozens of millionaires and hundreds of other wealthy citizens.

The demand for reform reached a peak on New Year's Day when Indians in Mexico's state of Chiapas rebelled and demanded social, educational and political change in their poverty-wracked state. The revolt embarrassed the Mexican government, which quickly acceded to many of the Indians' demands. The Indian protest prompted millions of others to demand similar reforms nationwide. That protest was also voiced May 12, in Mexico's first debate among the three leading candidates in August's presidential elections.

Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, the top candidate of the leftist Revolutionary Democratic Party, and Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, of the conservative National Action Party, launched a blistering attack on the Institutional Revolutionary Party (known by the Spanish acronym PRI) that has ruled Mexico for 65 years and has been described by its opponents as a brutal, repressive and corrupt institution.

This may be the ideal time for the United States to seal the border while offering Mexico new economic aid to help provide a better life for its people.

PRI opponents who have sought support from the United States would gain millions of reform votes from those forced to stay in Mexico. These new voters would go a long way toward helping the country establish a healthy two-party system, paving the way for true democracy.

Unless the border is sealed, the United States will continue focusing its attention and anger on the unfortunate undocumented workers from Mexico instead of on the real culprit; the Mexican government.

This country cannot continue being the dumping ground for the poor of a neighbor whose government has allowed its rich to get richer while its humblest citizens are handed a road sign pointing north. ■

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Don Mann is president of Negative Population Growth, Inc. His comments are reprinted with permission from the NPG newsletter Human Survival, *Fall 1994, Vol. 20, No. 1. NPG can be reached at P.O. Box 1206, Teaneck, NJ 07666-1206, (201) 837-3555.*

The Caribbean Centrifuge:

A Portent of Continued Immigration Growth

By Don Mann

Washington's agreement to increase Cuban immigration to at least 20,000 a year once again sacrifices much needed immigration restraint for foreign policy quick fixes. The administration's bending of the immigration law's eligibility rules is a reckless precedent that will encourage future concessions.

More seriously, Washington's policies toward both Cuba and Haiti betray its tendency to see only the short-term political and economic factors in the outflow of Caribbean peoples, ignoring the long-term social and demographic forces driving mass migration from the Caribbean's 22 island nations, whether rich or poor, democratic or dictatorial.

In the past decade, Caribbean island nations, with a total population of 35 million, have sent more than one million legal and illegal immigrants to the United States — one-sixth of the region's population increase over the decade.

The islands, with a population density five times that of the United States, now grow by 1.8 percent yearly and have a total fertility of 3.1 children per woman. Population density in Barbados, Jamaica, Haiti and the smaller islands matches or exceeds India's. Since 1983, the region's ratio of northbound migrants to population has been 35 percent higher than in Mexico, the world's largest single exporter of migrants to the United States.

What must be confronted is that immigration pressure from the Caribbean is likely to continue growing whatever the outcomes of local political and economic conflicts. The islands' combined population is projected to increase to 50 million by 2025, while the labor force of that region grows by 300,000 restless, would-be workers each year.

Years of heavy migration from the islands and a pervasive U.S. cultural presence in the region have created both widespread expectations of settlement in the U.S. and the extensive kinship, ethnic and employer networks needed to make it happen. For millions, the United States is now an alternative homeland.

Improved political conditions will not make a decisive difference. The democratization of Cuba, by ending current travel controls, will open the valves for release of pent-up immigration demand. Immigration from the Dominican Republic, now the region's largest single immigrant-sender, has grown relentlessly since constitutional government replaced decades of dictatorship in 1966. Jamaica, with a consistently admirable record of democracy and human rights since independence, now sends 43 percent of its annual population growth to the United States.

"What must be confronted is that immigration pressure from the Caribbean is likely to continue growing whatever the outcomes of local political and economic conflicts."

Neither does economic progress necessarily dampen immigration demand. Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, among the third world's richest nations, together send a third of their annual population growth to the United States. Economic growth in Haiti would further increase outmigration by giving tens of thousands the means to pay travel and resettlement costs.

The immigration culture that has mushroomed in the Caribbean is a warning. It shows how years of expansive family reunification and refugee policies and tolerance of illegal immigration can acquire the momentum of a mass population transfer. Similar migration momentum now exists in the Philippines

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and is rising in China and India, a troubling portent for U.S. population growth. Migration from China at just one-third the Caribbean rate would bring one million immigrants yearly. If the U.S. is to bring its population into balance with its resources and environmental limits, current immigration must be cut dramatically. The route to environmentally permissible immigration levels is through elimination of all illegal immigration and an airtight ceiling of not more than 100,000 yearly on legal migrants and refugees.

It cannot be in the country's interest to admit the nearly four million relatives of United States' residents now on waiting lists abroad. The extravagant and unrealistic family reunification features of current immigration law that create such unrealistic expectations for millions and that feed Caribbean-type mass population transfers must end. Finally, Washington policymakers must recognize immigration control as a major national interest in itself, not as a bargaining counter for diplomatic tinkering. ■

Immigration and Language

Most Canadians will applaud Immigration Minister Sergio Marchi's proposal to make "knowledge of English or French a 'critical' requirement for independent class immigrants." *The Financial Post*, Nov. 3, 1994). They probably do not know that for many years points have been given prospective immigrants for ability in the English and French languages; nor are they aware of the uneven manner in which the points are acquired.

Anyone hoping to come to Canada (outside of Quebec), has the possibility of earning a total of 15 points in the language category. Up to nine points can be earned if a person can speak, read and write fluently in English and the same number of points can be earned if a person can speak, read and write fluently in French. There are decreasing points for people who have lesser ability in either language. Only a person completely competent in both English and French could earn 15 points.

Then we look at Quebec, the one province which has an arrangement with the Federal government whereby they set up their own point schedule. (And a lot of other things!) We see that for ability in French, Quebec awards 15 points but for ability in English that province awards only two points! And that's not all. Two points can be earned for "knowledge of Quebec"; up to 5 points for "Relatives or Friends" in Quebec; and up to 8 points for a French speaking spouse and children.

The pass mark in Quebec is 50 or 60 points out of a total of 108, which means that the French language accounts for one-half the points needed for entry into Canada. In the rest of Canada, however, 70 points is the pass mark out of a total of 107. A unilingual English person seeking entry can earn a maximum of 9 points for English, or one-eighth of the pass mark of 70. A unilingual French person can earn 9 points for his language ability, and since he will increase the need for French government services in the English-speaking provinces he becomes a tax burden to English speaking Canada. This is anything but a level playing field.

Because of Bill 101, everyone knows that to immigrate to Quebec means living in the French language. On February 5th, 1991 the Federal government entered into an agreement whereby Quebec is entitled to 5 percent more immigrants than their true percentage would allow. However, immigrants coming to Quebec are under no obligation to stay there, and many move to English speaking provinces, thus once again increasing the tax burden on English speaking Canadians to provide French language services.

— From the *APEC* Newsletter*, February 1995
(*Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada)

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Brent Nelson has his Ph.D. in English literature from Ohio University. He has taught at several Midwest colleges. His books include America Balkanized *(American Immigration Control Foundation, 1994).*

Raising the National Question

A Book Review by Brent Nelson

Peter Brimelow is a native of England, a naturalized U.S. citizen, a graduate of Stanford University, a senior editor at *Forbes* magazine, and a contributing editor at *National Review*. Such credentials would seem to establish that he has a bona fide concern for the immigration question. Nonetheless, Brimelow devotes the lengthy introduction to his *Alien Nation* to a defense for his writing of the book — a defense which assumes a personal stance that is unusual even in a work on public policy directed to the common reader. Moreover, this embattled position is held throughout the work, and reinforced in the conclusion in which he considers the possibility that he may be wrong in his argument.

ALIEN NATION:
COMMON SENSE
ABOUT IMMIGRATION
AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE
By Peter Brimelow
New York: Random House, 1995.
291 pages, $23.00, hard cover.

Between introduction and conclusion, Brimelow arrays the evidence for his argument, fairly evenly divided between "Truth," most of which is ignored by what he calls "the American political elite," and "Consequences," which are economic, cultural, social, environmental, and political. Ignorance (or suppression) of basic truths about immigration has led to what Brimelow calls "a one-sided debate" about the immigration question. He recognizes a force of denial so great that bringing these truths to the average citizen involves combating daunting resistances within that reader's own (previously conditioned) consciousness. He suggests that most of this resistance derives from the Great Society taboo in the U.S. which surrounds any frank consideration of issues even tangent to race relations. He does not go so far, however, as to recognize that the suppression dictated by the political elite is motivated as much by fear as by ignorance.

The first installment of the truth which Brimelow delivers to the reader is numerical in nature, the understanding of which is facilitated by a series of charts. These show graphically:

- that the American tradition is not one of continual immigration, but of intermittent waves;
- that, contrary to expectations raised by the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1990, the trend of immigration is still up;
- that America is in a second "great wave" of immigration ("the first great wave" from 1880 to 1920 was followed by the lull between 1924 and 1954);
- that immigration as a percentage of the total U.S. population now is comparable to that of previous waves if one includes amnestied illegal aliens;
- that, in absolute numbers, net immigration to the U.S. has reached a new high;
- that immigration contributes disproportionately to U.S. population growth;
- that the foreign-born as a percentage of the total U.S. population is beginning a rise to levels attained only 50 years ago;
- that immigration will lead to a projected total U.S. population — according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census — of 383 million in 2050, as contrasted with a projected total, assuming no net immigration, of 244 million;
- that even with these high immigration levels, the burgeoning Third World population is best described as an "overhang" under which the American contribution to "relief" from Third World population pressures is almost vanishingly small;
- that the U.S. and Canada alone among nations of the developed world have failed to stabilize their population growth; and, finally,
- that the current great wave is composed disproportionately of persons from the Third World.

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The telling of a more controversial (and most unwelcome) truth is reserved for a separate chapter. This truth is graphically presented in what Brimelow calls "The Pincer Chart." The far right side of the chart represents 2050 and portrays the population of "Non-Spanish Whites" who, totalling only 52.7 percent of the U.S. population, will be caught between pincer tongs representing "Hispanic" and "Other/Asian/Non-Spanish Black." Brimelow devotes most of the chapter to combating the anticipated incredulity of the reader. He notes that the projection is that of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, a projection which was not extended to that point in time when the "Non-Spanish White" population will cease to be a majority. Brimelow cites the demographer Leon Bouvier as pronouncing the year of minority status for whites to be 2060. The Pincer Chart is supplemented with a second graphic illustration: a map of the U.S. showing that the ethnic/racial blocs are even now, through selective migration, developing into what will be areas of regional concentration; i.e., a predominantly Hispanic and Asian Southwest, a predominantly black Southeast and East coast, and a predominantly white Midwest and inland Northwest.

"Brimelow...responds to...the implicit argument...that any concern about the shifting racial compositon of the U.S. as an outcome of immigration policy can only be a manifestation of 'racism'."

"How did it happen?" Brimelow answers this (his own) question in a chapter which presents a relatively noncontroversial truth: It (i.e., the current great wave of immigration and the impending racial transformation of the U.S. population) is an unanticipated outcome of the 1965 Immigration Act, and secondarily of the immigration acts of 1986 and 1990. There is nothing inevitable or irreversible (much less accidental!) about the immigrant influx and the concomitant racial transformation of the U.S. Both phenomena are the outcome of governmental policy, which can be reversed. A return to a national origins quota system could once again lead to a growth in the European segment of the U.S. population.

It is in answering the question "Why did it happen?" that Brimelow reveals a truth which is rather more controversial. The post-1986 immigration policy, "seen as part of the civil rights triumph," has been placed "above criticism." In addition, the whole debate on immigration policy (or, rather, lack of debate), has been shaped by what Brimelow calls "alienism." This concept, alluded to in the title of the book, is needed to understand U.S. immigration policy "because," according to Brimelow, "just as everyone has heard of 'nativists' and their dislike of foreigners, so there are also 'aliens' who dislike the natives, and the America that the natives built. To these 'aliens' (who are quite often not immigrants, but the disgruntled, 'alienated' native-born) mass immigration offers potential reinforcement and support." Furthermore, Brimelow believes, "this concept of alienism is crucial to understanding American politics — and, indeed, American culture."

Brimelow becomes his most daring in truth-telling when he responds to what he calls "the 'So What?' reflex." This is the implicit argument of the opponents to immigration control that any concern about the shifting racial composition of the U.S. as an outcome of immigration policy can only be a manifestation of "racism." Brimelow believes that the entire question needs to be "refocused" as follows: "The onus should not be on critics of current immigration policy to explain their motives. Instead, supporters of current policy must explain why they wish to transform the American nation from where it had evolved by 1965." Brimelow believes that the "alienist" answer to the refocused question is that "American whites must be swamped by immigration to make it impossible for them to act on their racist impulses." A survey of the contemporary world and a look into history reveals, however, the unwelcome truth that multi-ethnic or multi-racial states are as subject to the plagues of bigotry and racism as are ethnically/racially homogeneous states.

Brimelow gives much attention to the economic consequences of immigration, buttressing his argument with figures and formulae relegated to the appendices. The first consideration, the economic quality of the immigrants, is in itself cause for concern. Skill levels of immigrants are moving downward steadily in a decline which can only partially be accounted for by the policy of family reunification. Welfare dependency rates for the

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current immigrant influx are higher than at any time in the past. Welfare dependency has begun to affect adversely not only communities (e.g., Wausau, Wisconsin, whose story has been ably told by Roy Beck in the April, 1994, issue of *Atlantic Monthly*), but entire states, most notoriously California. The downgrading of California's bond rating has been directly attributed to "above-average population growth and shifting demographics," in particular the "degree of public assistance required by two of the fastest growing groups, Latinos and political/ethnic refugees." (Brimelow here cites the report of Sanford J. Bernstein and Company.)

Next, Brimelow examines in depth the popular notion that immigration is a stimulus to "economic growth." Noting that what (e.g., lower wages) is favorable for one party (employers) may be detrimental for another (employees), he recognizes that "economic growth" is an ambivalent concept. A lowering of wages during the first great wave of immigration (1890 to 1920) has been demonstrated, and is at least likely during the current wave. Certain, moreover, is the fact that "immigration has exploded since 1985 ... but overall economic growth has slowed." Accounting for growth, Brimelow admits, draws one into a thicket of conflicting theories and assumptions, but, again, it is certain that Japan, the locus of unparalleled economic growth by anyone's standard, has also been anything but a nation of immigrants, admitting a total of only 222,000 to citizenship in the decades since 1945. It may be debated how the Japanese have done it — whether by capital investment or by institutional innovation — but they certainly have done it without immigrants. Finally, Brimelow raises the possibility that the functioning of capitalism depends on certain cultural patterns, patterns which can be swept away by the immigrant influx, thereby eliminating the social prerequisites to sustain capitalism.

Brimelow gives only cursory attention to the cultural, social, and environmental consequences of immigration, but these are most apparent. While the absence in the future U.S. of a uniting central culture, now anathematized as Eurocentrism, may not be a fatal flaw, few readers will be able to deny the gravity of the problems of crime and public health which are imported with the immigrant influx. Brimelow cites in particular the Russian Jewish "Organizatsiya," which threatens to displace La Cosa Nostra, and also the remarkable level of involvement (70 percent according to U.S. Justice Department estimates!) of Nigerian immigrants in organized crime. He does not cite the threat represented by Asian organized crime. The spoliation and plunder of the environment which will ensue if there are 400 million Americans in 2050, all demanding the highest possible standards of living, is also worthy of more explication.

"...few readers will be able to deny the gravity of the problems of crime and public health which are imported with the immigrant influx."

Cursory attention is also given to the political consequences of immigration. Brimelow mentions the possibility of irredentism in the Southwest and notes that, even now, Mexico seeks some sort of extraterritorial rights over Mexican immigrants in the United States. Most of his attention is given to the partisan consequences. Republicans, he believes, are unrealistic in their hope to win many votes from the new immigrants when they finally become citizens. Democrats, on the other hand, who seemingly have a firm grip on the greater portion of the votes of the newcomers, do not adequately appreciate the problems involved in maintaining their "rainbow coalition," preserving it from internal dissension as well as from a possible "backlash" among European Americans. Finally, immigration, if it becomes a volatile issue, may overturn all partisan expectations. The Canadian Reform Party, for example, vaulted from one to fifty-two seats virtually overnight when it attacked immigration.

The most significant political consequence of immigration is "a less perfect union." "Massive, heterogeneous immigration" is but one policy leading in that direction. Brimelow also cites, as leading to "deconstruction of the American nation as it existed in 1965," the policies of bilingualism, multiculturalism, affirmative action, and a "systematic attack on the value of citizenship, by making it easier for aliens to vote, receive government subsidies etc." Brimelow believes that America is, or should be, a

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nation, not just an idea, but he warns that "the outlines of what might be described as the new American Anti-Idea are already clear. It's a sort of bureaucratically-regulated racial spoils system, rather like Lebanon before its ethnic divisions finally erupted. Government power is used not to achieve economic efficiency, which traditional socialism has ceased to promise, but ethnic equity...." Government today, in effect, promotes and rewards the devolution of one into many.

The final consequence of immigration today is "the war against the nation-state," a war which begins with a refusal to acknowledge that, in Brimelow's words, "a nation is the interlacing of ethnicity and culture. And a nation-state is its political expression." He cites Trudeau as a prime example of a warrior against nationalism (i.e., the conscious awareness of what a nation is), and notes that his endeavor to suppress nationalism, to condemn it as a premodern remnant, has failed. Brimelow maintains that the nation-state is a *product* of modernization, sustained as it is by "information flows," which can only be impeded by a lack of linguistic unity (which, in turn, is dependent upon cultural and, perhaps, ethnic unity). Nonetheless, Brimelow warns, "The New Class dislikes the nation-state. The New Class dislikes the nation-state for exactly the same reason it dislikes the free market: both are machines that run of themselves, with no need for new-class-directed government intervention."

"[Brimelow] demolishes the plea that the U.S. must accept all political refugees by asking the rhetorical question: Does that mean that you want to accept 5 million white South Africans?"

Before suggesting what should be done about the immigration problem, Brimelow considers the morality of immigration restriction. He soundly rebuts those (a group of law school students, horrible to relate!) who have tried to tell him that "immigration is a civil right." He argues against the entreaty that there is a moral obligation to accept immigrants into the U.S. He invites the religious to ponder the fact that Leviticus 19:33-34 (welcoming the stranger) is counterbalanced by Deuteronomy 28:43-44 (caution: strangers may take over). He demolishes the plea that the U.S. must accept all political refugees by asking the (rhetorical) question, "Does that mean that you want to accept 5 million white South Africans?" Most appropriately, he refers to the lesson regarding stewardship of resources which has been so ably presented in Garrett Hardin's classic essay on "The Tragedy of the Commons." Finally, he surveys the immigration policies of a number of Third World nations and discovers (to no one's surprise) that many of them simply will not even consider accepting immigrants.

In considering what should be done, Brimelow first suggests that the immigration acts of 1965, 1986, and 1990 be repealed. Future immigration policy must be shaped by four principles:

1. "The United States must regain control of its borders...."
2. "Immigration must be treated as a luxury for the United States, not as a necessity."
3. "The costs of any immigration should fall on the immigrant, not on native-born Americans.
4. "Any immigration must meet a fundamental test: What does it mean for 'The National Question'? Will it help or hurt the ability of the United States to survive as a nation-state — the political expression of that interlacing of ethnicity and culture that now constitutes the American nation?"

It is Brimelow's raising of the National Question, with its implicit assertion that a nation has a right to retain its cultural and ethnic identity, which will call down an anathema upon his head from those conservatives who have accepted what he calls "the bland bargain"; i.e., conservative acquiescence regarding multiculturalist demands in exchange for a modicum of respectability. It will bring forth an icy silence from the left, both liberal and extreme, along with a methodically carried out plan to suppress this work in every way possible. Unfortunately, alienism is not limited to the New Class, probably because (as Christopher Lasch has demonstrated in his posthumously published *The Revolt of the Elites*) the New Class is not all that separate and distinguishable from the rest of the elite. Furthermore, "alienism" easily co-exists with a general indifference among the elite about the great ethnic shift, which alternates only with an angry alarm at those who dare to discuss it.

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Intelligent concern, if not alarm, should be the general reaction to the fact that the U.S. still does not have control of its population growth. If the total U.S. population grows to almost 400 million by 2050 (and this is only the middle-level projection), a growth which will largely have been due to the immigrant influx, far too many "Americans" will then be contending for the scarce economic goods produced from limited natural resources. Since this population will be organized politically into three or four major blocs of visible minorities, the electoral process will tend steadily and irreversibly to devolve into something like an ethnic census. Will this U.S. of 2050 arrive on schedule, or will the U.S. itself be restructured out of existence long before 2050, as was the U.S.S.R. long before the triumph of communism? Brimelow does not ask this question, but it is implicit in his discussion of the consequences of uncontrolled immigration.

Probably Brimelow does not place greater stress on the dire prospects for America's future because he recognizes that the prevailing attitude among the elite is epitomized in the observation that "Posterity has never done anything for me!" This tradition of lighthearted plunder of the commons has combined with a religious obscurantism, anachronistic in a developed nation such as the U.S., that militates against the elite's acceptance of a long-term policy of population control (which would necessitate immigration control). Not helping matters any is that when members of either the New Class or the Old Class — assuming that those distinctions mean anything — think seriously about issues of public policy, they are inclined to be influenced by ideologues — either radicals of the left (Marxists) or extremists of the right (libertarians) — both of whom refuse to admit that there are limits to growth.

Given the negative reaction which will greet *Alien Nation*, Peter Brimelow is to be commended for having written it. Random House is to be commended even more for having published it. Not since the publication in 1947 of Henry Pratt Fairchild's *Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life* has a book addressing the National Question found a mainstream publisher. While there is little likelihood that Brimelow's common sense will begin to permeate the mass media, it may reach great numbers of opinion leaders. Those are the people — the only real actors in America's political process — who must be reached if anything positive is to be done. ■

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Robert Kyser, a retired Presbyterian Church (USA) minister, is managing editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Population Policy and the Roman Catholic Church

A Book Review by Robert Kyser

What may be perceived as "Catholic-bashing" should not be allowed to detract from this book's important argument: Roman Catholic theology and moral teaching in the area of population growth are a danger to humanity.

More people means more intense problems for the planet, for nations, and for the United States — problems of security, as more and more people contend for the same amount of real estate and for other resources. Stephen Mumford performs a great service in bringing back into focus the bold initiatives of Richard Nixon and the Rockefeller Commission, and in bringing to light the resulting National Security Study Memorandum 200 and its fate.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF NSSM 200: HOW THE DESTRUCTION OF POLITICAL WILL DOOMED A U.S. POPULATION POLICY
By Stephen D. Mumford
Research Triangle Park, NC: Center for Research on Population and Security, 1994
384 pp. HC $24.95, PB $18.95

The United States was on the edge of new strategies to deal with population growth in the early '70s. Paul Ehrlich's 1968 book *The Population Bomb* and the beginning of Earth Day observances in 1970 created a climate in which President Nixon could call for high-level studies of what population growth would mean for the U.S., as well as the security of other nations around the world. The Rockefeller Commission was authorized by Congress in 1970 and reported two years later, making recommendations for plans and policies for population stabilization, including immigration policies. The legalization of abortion, expanded sex education, the fostering of voluntary sterilization — these were hallmarks of a recommended national population policy that understandably hoisted red flags among the Roman Catholic bishops, who are charged with preserving a different set of doctrines regarding human reproduction.

National legalization of abortion became a reality with the 1973 Supreme Court decision in the *Roe v Wade* case. In the wake of that event, the American bishops prepared a "Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities" in an attempt to turn the tide of public opinion against legalized abortion. It was a plan to mobilize every Catholic organization, create new structures, and investigate every avenue for molding public opinion and influencing legislation in an effort to preserve the church's teaching about contraception and abortion — a teaching with which many Catholics disagreed, and with which many Protestants agreed.

National Security Study Memorandum 200 (NSSM 200) was a follow-up to the Rockefeller Commission report which had recommended a study of the ramifications of rapid population growth for the security of the United States. Signed for President Nixon by Henry Kissinger, the memorandum led to a compilation of extensive research which was delivered to then-President Ford in 1974. The national effort was underway to really grapple with the issue of population growth in the U.S. and across the world. What happened?

Stephen Mumford has served the cause of population control well by collecting under one set of covers the full texts of the Nixon message to Congress, the report and recommendations of the Rockefeller Commission, the National Security Study Memorandum and the resulting National Security Decision Memo. He then details the vigorous campaign the Catholic bishops mounted to reverse the climate of liberalization that was threatening Catholic doctrine. The American press shied away from challenging the Catholic church in its transparent use

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of tax deductable dollars to achieve political goals.

Catholic pressure on presidential campaigns is well documented in the campaigns of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, as well as in the re-election of President Nixon. Undoubtedly there has been input by the hierarchy into administration staffing of key agencies and departments so that policies in concert with *Humanae Vitae* could be fostered. One must admire the foresight and strategy of the bishops' Pastoral Plan.

But Dr. Mumford changes our focus and ranges too far afield when he charges the Vatican with undermining the security of the United States for the sake of the security and survival of the papacy. True enough, the Roman church has painted itself into a corner on the issues of contraception and abortion, and now cannot reverse itself in the light of new scientific knowledge without undermining the teaching magisterium of an infallible papacy. The German theologian Hans Küng said it best: "The only way to solve the problem of contraception is to solve the problem of infallibility." Still, we shouldn't charge the church with anything beyond vigorous efforts at self-preservation — efforts that have often been none too subtle.

"More people means more intense problems for the planet, for nations, and for the United States — problems of security, as more and more people contend for the same amount of real estate and for other resources."

It is only with reluctance that one faults Dr. Mumford for his belligerence toward the Roman Church. He has spent his entire professional life helping people in poor countries find safe, effective and inexpensive methods of family planning. Yet he, and many of his colleagues, have found themselves hamstrung at every turn by Roman Catholic teaching. Consider how the efforts of the American Congress to fund United Nations population planning programs were effectively hindered during the Reagan years. The entire world could watch as the Vatican used its questionable member status at the UN in an attempt to derail the recent Cairo population conference. Dr. Mumford understandably feels thwarted, but he goes too far in seeing behind every disappointment a Machiavellian plot by the Vatican.

For example, Mumford states (p.339) that he finds it hard to believe that Princeton University Press would publish a book by Julian Simon maintaining that resources are unlimited and there can be no such thing as overpopulation. Because this line of reasoning coincided with Vatican teaching, Mumford charges there must have been covert pressure on the publishers from that source. Similarly, the existence of the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition is cited (p.267) as part of Roman church strategy to preserve the papacy rather than as a simple matter of the politics of pro-life issues making strange (ecclesiastical) bed fellows. It is this kind of argumentation that diminishes an otherwise excellent report on how the momentum for population control was lost in the wake of the 1972 re-election campaign, resulting in withdrawals of funding and in subsequent appointments of unsympathetic judges.

The Life and Death of NSSM 200 is a valuable book as it brings to light the substantial scholarship and concern that went into discussions of population growth and the dangers to U.S. security that would result from ever-growing competition for resources. It would have improved the book if the author had placed as appendices the sections on the struggle over infallibility that took place within the church in 1871, about Pope John XXIII choosing that name to resurrect opposition by a prior pope to claims of infallibility, and the point that in a move by the Vatican to study ways to endorse birth control measures, current Pope John Paul II had written the minority report that backed the anti-contraception teaching of *Humanae Vitae*. *NSSM 200* would be a better and more useful book still had it not included extensive allusions to papist plots to overthrow the American democracy. A useful antidote to these sections can be found in *A Catastrophe in the Making, with Letters to the Pope* by agriculture specialist Keith C. Barrons (Tampa: Mancorp Publishing, Inc., 1991).

Dr. Mumford has prepared an eloquent case for putting the United States government back on the track of dealing realistically and constructively with exponential population growth. ■

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Mark Wegierski is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.**

Whither Canada?

A Book Review by Mark Wegierski

Lansing Lamont was *Time*'s chief correspondent in Canada between 1971-1973, and managing director for Canadian Affairs at the Americas Society from 1981-1991, so this book represents the view that Canada is a significant player in the American liberal foreign policy establishment, and is quite possibly a reflection of a larger slice of opinion in that sector. Lamont certainly does not say anything that is unusual today.

Lamont's book includes a bibliography and index, but no footnotes. The work is divided into two parts, "Canada at the Crossroads", and "Scenario for the Future." This "Scenario" is already "off," as the Parti Québécois has actually won (by a large margin of seats) the provincial election in Quebec which Lamont had predicted they would lose.

BREAKUP: THE COMING END OF CANADA AND THE STAKES FOR AMERICA
By Lansing Lamont
New York: W. W. Norton, 1994
267 pages, $25.00

In the reviewer's opinion, although Lamont does make some attempt to look closely at Canadian history, politics, culture, and sense of identity — and to go beyond the utterly desiccated notions that prevail in current-day Canada — he does not probe boldly enough. Never offering in the book a coherent, consistent definition of what might constitute a true nation, Lamont often flounders in his attempts to describe Canada's national identity. For example, he follows the very common interpretation of Canadian Confederation as the birth of a new nation, whereas it might better be described as the birth of a new *state*, the compact of two, pre-existing nations, the English and French Canadas. He fundamentally misreads the role of the British heritage and connection to Canada — viewing it in general as a colonial burden, rather than as what was essentially the self-definition of English Canada. Lamont's statement that Canada lacked a flag until the Maple Leaf in 1965 (p. 45), is palpably absurd. The previous Red Ensign had signified the *Britishness* of Canada. And, calling the long-serving Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau "Canada's most impassioned voice for national unity" — while certainly a cliché — is surely ludicrous, since the avowedly internationalist and ultra-cosmopolitan Trudeau probably did most to wreck the traditional Canada, next to Prime Ministers Mulroney and Pearson.

Two easy-to-spot economic errors are that "Mulroney's government had substantially reduced spending" (p. 77) (in fact, the growth curve of the federal debt in that period is virtually logarithmic); and that, in the aftermath of the hypothetical separation of Quebec, "the Canadian dollar nosedived below the benchmark 80 cent (U.S.) level." In fact the Canadian dollar today — before any kind of the serious turmoil envisaged by Lamont has even taken place — stands hardly over 70 cents (U.S.). [Editor's note: The U.S. dollar against which it is measured dropped 10 percent in the first 10 weeks of 1995.]

Symptomatic of Lamont's often myopic analysis is his view of Canadian multiculturalism, and especially immigration. While he criticizes the former somewhat, he seems to generally view immigration today as a source of economic enrichment for Canada, as well as of salutary population-enhancement for an increasingly ageing society.

Lamont also evaluates the usefulness of a unified Canada to the international liberal global order:

> *A unified Canada could continue to play an essential role in helping resolve macro problems like the transfer of human resources from poorer to richer regions or the allocation of food supplies for future Somalias. A Canada fissured would find it increasingly difficult to accept dramatically greater numbers of immigrants or to direct huge quotas of its*

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wheat and grain to the world's starving (p. 240).

Without Canada, the world would lose perhaps its most liberal society ... if Canada, long one of the most successful models of a multi-ethnic society, cannot in the end accommodate the regional and linguistic demands of its constituent parts, the obvious question is, who can? What country and what peoples can hope to succeed if the Canadian experiment in tolerance and cooperation is seen to fail? An eclipse of Canada would darken hopes that the democratic ideal is necessarily mankind's salvation (p. 243).

Perhaps the real question to ask is whether a country which the left-leaning economist Barbara Ward once described as the world's "first international nation" (p. 240) is today a real country at all?

On the other hand, the future which Lamont describes for the independent, now-separate Quebec might well be seen as commendable by all true nationalists:

The immigrant populace was already draining away to more amenable cities in Canada and the United States, while potential newcomers bypassed Quebec for more culturally tolerant communities. As their numbers declined, the remaining ... immigrants in Montreal received fewer special services, while the ruling francophone establishment stopped making even halfhearted attempts to integrate the police force, the teacher's unions, and other public institutions. Quebec was, for all practical purposes, closing out its accounts with its irksome minorities, becoming at last the thoroughly pure French state it had always dreamed of being (pp. 202-203).

One does not have to read too closely between the lines to see the sheer joy that current-day Canada brings to the international global elite. Canada can always be counted on to supply UN peacekeepers to the most far-flung corners of the planet; to accept tens of thousands of Third World refugees a year; and to provide an unusually high level of aid to the Third World. It might be remembered that at two summits — one of the Commonwealth and another of *la Francophonie* — Prime Minister Mulroney forgave about 1.5 billion dollars (Canadian) of debt owed to Canada by various black African countries — money which had already been lent at little or no interest. Canada has also been particularly generous in funding the ANC, SWAPO, the Sandinistas, and Castro's Cuba. It was also the allegedly "hard-Tory" regime of Mulroney that raised Canada's immigration levels to a quarter-million persons a year, from the 54,000 or so in Trudeau's last year in office.

The isolated English-Canadian nationalist, conservative, or traditionalist might well give his exasperated support to the separation of Quebec as a gesture of defiance against internationalist liberalism which English Canada is itself incapable of making, having succumbed decades ago. However, it is generally considered now that Quebec separatism may well have peaked — or at least that if the upcoming referendum for Quebec sovereignty fails, that the whole tendency will probably be finished. The reasons for this are primarily demographic. Quebec, having mostly repudiated its once-fervent Roman Catholicism, now has one of the lowest birthrates and highest abortion rates in Canada. Virtually none of the more prolific recent immigrant groups will have anything to do with sovereignty. They simply love the multicultural Canada of thoroughgoing "employment equity" and minority empowerment. Similarly, the Cree and Mohawks in Quebec vastly prefer Canada.

An interesting warning voiced by Lamont is that Quebec may not be as pro-American as it appears. (One of his curious prognoses is the ramming of an American oil tanker by a Quebec missile-cruiser, supplied by France.) Lamont expresses fears that an independent Quebec may strengthen the global position of France, and create the possibility of French "mischief-making." Again, Lamont shows his loyalty to the international liberal global order centered in North America.

Lamont also fears that moves toward regionalization and separatism might be repeated in the United States itself. To an American like Lamont, fixated on a universalistic and rights-oriented conception of nationhood, the current-day Canada appears highly positive. However, in terms of a more traditional concept of nationality, current-day Canada is the uttermost repudiation of true nationhood. The breakup of Canada could bring into question the conception of an America based on universalistic and rights-oriented nationhood. ■

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William H. McNeill is professor of history, emeritus, at the University of Chicago.

Trying to Learn from History

A Book Review by William H. McNeill

This book sums up recent historical research on the migration of peoples which took place in Europe, when the Roman empire broke up in the West, and survived a bit precariously in the East, despite waves of barbarian invasion. The author, a professor of medieval history at the University of Caen, divided his book into two parts. First comes a rather bald narrative of three successive waves of Germanic invasion, starting with the Visigoths in 374 A.D. and ending with the Lombard invasion of Italy between 363 and 572. Then follows a chapter on Britain where Picts and Scots rivalled Germanic barbarians as extinguishers of Roman culture. Each invading group is dealt with separately, and what is known and what remains uncertain in each instance is precisely and carefully set forth. A concluding chapter then attempts to account for the shift of linguistic frontiers that had occurred by about 600 A.D., and assesses the mingling of Roman and barbarian heritages that emerged within each of the barbarian kingdoms of Western Europe.

THE GERMANIC INVASIONS: THE MAKING OF EUROPE AD 400-600
By Lucien Musset
New York: Barnes and Noble, 1993
287+xiii pages

These five chapters constitute "Part I: The Facts," and as generations of students will attest, a collection of facts like this — even when carefully stated and meticulously assembled — is not very interesting. Far livelier is "Part 2: Unsolved Problems and Subjects for Further Research." Nearly all the really interesting questions remain to be answered, and Musset describes recent scholarly efforts to do so without committing himself on disputed points. The book is in fact aimed at beginning graduate students of medieval history, and points them toward issues that might profitably be studied more closely.

But for readers of this journal, Musset's pages are likely to be disappointing. So much remains uncertain! What impelled the invaders to cross the Roman frontiers? How and why were they able to overcome Roman armies? Why did the mingling of peoples across all of the western Roman empire provoke a (relatively modest) shift of language frontiers along the Rhine and Danube, and in Britain, but not elsewhere? What was the nature of the invading hosts — how brought together, how organized, armed, supplied and provided with transport? How important was religion in defining ethnic identity as against language or other indicators? What attracted barbarians to Roman ways of life? What counter attraction did the Germanic tradition exert among Romans? All remains unknown or a matter of guesswork.

Musset sums things up as follows: "The history of the invasions ... is like Penelope's task: theories are woven out of such information as we have, only to be unravelled when fresh evidence comes to light... This ... is singularly instructive. It teaches us that Europe has constantly benefitted from all her experiences, even though under duress at times, to create innovating syntheses. The willingness to absorb, while modifying, to draw renewed vigor from the ruins, is a recurring motif throughout our account. It is the distinguishing feature of civilization..."(p. 238).

This concluding remark strikes me as a bit too cheerful. The clash between Romans and Germans that Musset deals with in this book shows that even when interaction across a cultural boundary remains intense, so that both parties borrow freely from one another, a peaceable and prosperous upshot cannot be guaranteed. Instead, the Germanic invasions were accompanied by economic decay, widespread depopulation, and a general disruption of secular urban culture. We have come to expect economic and other forms of growth, but such growth is quite unusual. And perhaps the history of western Europe 400-600 A.D., when everything went the other way, ought to give us pause. If so, this little book may serve as a convenient place to learn about what actually happened, so far as that is knowable. ■

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Gustav Uhlich is a retired gastroenterologist and a writer with a keen interest in the interplay of psychology and biology.

Descarte's Error

A Book Review by Gustav A. Uhlich

Rene Descartes lived in the first part of the 17th century in Holland. He was the leading mathematician and philosopher of his time. What was his error, and why should it matter to us? Damasio provides compelling answers to both questions.

Descartes said, "I think, therefore I am." Damasio counters: "I am, therefore I think." Descartes maintained that the essential "me" — the soul, the spirit, the mind — is entirely distinct from our body and in no way connected to our biological make-up. Damasio sets out to prove the opposite.

EMOTION, REASON,
AND THE HUMAN BRAIN
Antonio R. Damasio
G.P. Putnam's Sons, NY, 1994
312 pages, $24.95 (Can.$32.50)

In Part I of the book we are introduced to the clinical evidence linking patterns of behavior to the anatomical structure and functional organization of the central nervous system. The fascinating case history of one Phineas P. Gage, a 25-year-old railroad construction foreman, sets the stage for exploring the results of traumatic brain damage. In the summer of 1848, while blasting his way through the rocky terrain of Vermont, Phineas had the misfortune of prematurely setting off an explosion. A three-foot-long iron rod shot through his skull. Miraculously, Phineas survived, but he was not the same man he had been before. A contemporary report attests to his rather complete physical recovery; however, his "equilibrium or balance, so to speak, between his intellectual capacity and animal propensities" had been destroyed. As a result, he lost the ability to plan his future as a social being. He lost his job, and died in 1861. His punctured skull was preserved at Boston's Harvard Medical School Museum.

Damasio, with the help of modern computer technology, is able to reconstruct the extent of frontal lobe damage suffered by Gage. The devastating consequences of Gage's acquired "character disorder" bring to mind a few disturbing questions. "There are many Gages around us, people whose fall from social grace is disturbingly similar. Some have brain damage consequent to brain tumors, or head injury, or other neurological disease. Yet some have had no overt neurological disease and they still behave like Gage. If we are to solve humanely the problems they pose, we need to understand the nature of these human beings whose actions can be destructive to themselves and to others. Neither incarceration nor the death penalty — among the responses that society currently offers for those individuals — contribute to our understanding or solve the problem." What best can help us to solve social problems — that is the question.

Part II of the book is devoted to the search for intelligent answers. What allows humans to behave rationally? How does the normal brain work? Damasio is careful in delineating the scope of his undertaking and in noting the speculative nature of some of his contentions. His hypotheses are based on careful observation of some 1800 patients studied at his laboratories at the University of Iowa over a period of 17 years. The difference between science and mere philosophy deserves attention. The pursuit of both requires imagination, creativity, and inventiveness. Science, in addition, demands reproducible observations and experimental verification before a hypothesis can claim credibility. Philosophy and religion are not hampered by such restraints. Their credibility is based primarily on the prestige of the prophet and the emotional impact of the message. In the case of Descartes, a multitude of true believers still populates the earth in spite of what we know, or should know, about neurobiology.

The sheer multitude of facts and opinions presented by Damasio may at times confuse the reader. Careful attention to the definition of terms used throughout the text is essential to an understanding of Damasio's line of reasoning. On page 86, for instance, we are informed, "Whenever I

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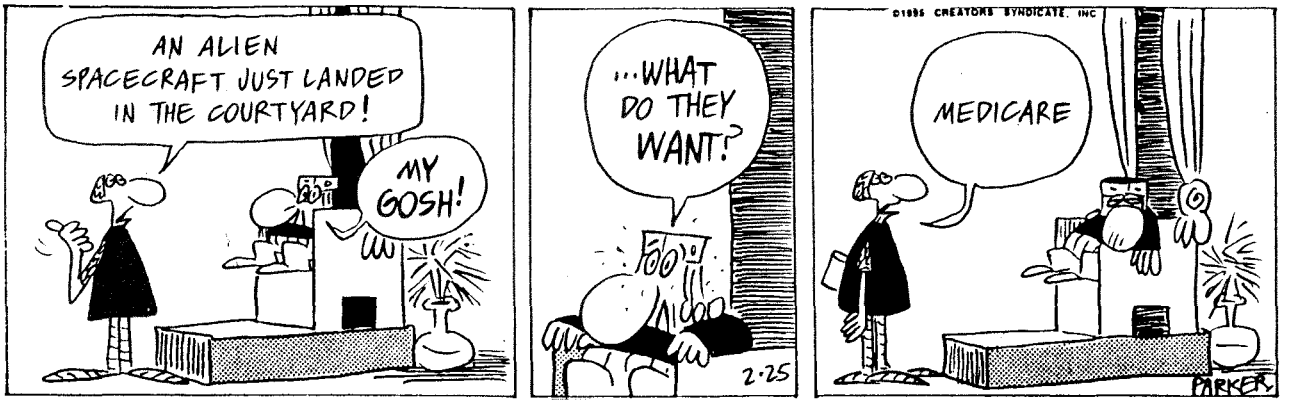
refer to the body, I mean the organism minus the neural tissue (the central and peripheral components of the nervous system), although in the conventional sense the brain is also part of the body." Why then this unorthodox definition of body? Because there are creatures that have a body but no brain — bacteria and amoeba, for instance. They are located rather low on the rungs of evolution, but they do play an important role in the overall scheme of things. A listing at the beginning or end of the book of such unconventional definitions, as well as of newly developed concepts, would prove helpful. It is not lack of clarity on part of the author, but the complexity of the subject matter under discussion that requires the utmost concentration on the part of the reader, who from the beginning is expected to be "curious, intelligent and wise."

Helpful diagrams are provided throughout the book and matters of everyday concern are well covered. Is it possible to die of a "broken heart?" Can a surge of oxytocin override the best intentions toward celibacy? Is cultural evolution capable of obliterating instinctual behavior? Are emotions and feelings one and the same thing? How does the neural network interact with the hormonal circuitry? What is the role of feelings in devising a rational survival strategy for Homo sapiens? Based on the concept of a "triune brain" first proposed by Paul D. MacLean, Damasio places great emphasis on the close interaction of all parts of a living organism in bringing about mental phenomena of an increasingly complex nature.

Part III of the book summarizes some of the experimental evidence in support of the biologic body-mind hypothesis. Beyond that, plenty of food for further thought is presented. Is there or is there not "free will," for instance? From a neurobiological point of view, the question seems poorly phrased. It makes more sense to ask to what degree and under what circumstances are we able to override automatic response mechanisms common to the species with more individual actions based on conscious cognitive activity. "Willpower is just another name for the idea of choosing according to long-term outcome rather than short-term ones." Intelligent foresight must be our ultimate goal. "The scientist's voice need not be the mere record of life as it is; scientific knowledge can be a pillar to help humans endure and prevail." In *Descartes' Error*, Damasio provides us with solid stepping stones for the path that leads from philosophical speculation to scientific knowledge. It deserves the reader's full attention. ■



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Jeffersonian Bon Mots

A Book Review by John H. Tanton

> I hate quotations. Tell me what *you* think.
>
> —Ralph Waldo Emerson
>
> *Journal*, May 1849

> In literature quotation is good only when the writer I follow is going my way, and, being better mounted than I, gives me a cast.
>
> —Ralph Waldo Emerson
>
> *Quotation and Originality* (1876)

> It is a good thing for an uneducated man to read books of quotations. *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* is an admirable work and I studied it intently. The quotations when engraved upon the memory give you good thoughts. They also make you anxious to read the authors and look for more.
>
> —Winston Churchill
>
> *Roving Commission: My Early Life* (1930)

[The above quotations are from *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, 15th Edition.]

CITIZEN JEFFERSON:
THE WIT AND WISDOM
OF AN AMERICAN SAGE
Edited by John Kaminski
Madison, WI: Madison House, 1994
144 pages, $14.95

With all due respect to Mr. Emerson, I love quotations and have spent many a happy odd moment browsing in *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* or *Respectfully Quoted*, published by the Library of Congress in 1989.

I say many a happy "odd moment" rather than "hour" since, with this type of book, I follow another piece of Churchillian advice found on the wall of the library at his country home, Chartwell. He suggests, as a way to become or stay familiar with one's books, taking one down at random and letting it fall open where it will, reading a page or two, and then replacing it on the shelf. In this way, Churchill says, it is possible to stay in touch with a large collection of books.

Books of quotations don't lend themselves to reading cover to cover, though in those organized alphabetically by author (as are *Bartlett's* and *Oxford*), reading all of an author's entries is worthwhile. *Respectfully Quoted* is organized by topic, and this, too, lends itself to browsing.

Given these interests and proclivities, the new Madison House collection of Jefferson's wit and wisdom is a welcome addition to my collection of quotation books. Handsomely produced, organized by topic and well indexed, this book will well repay the time spent with it, especially for fans of Mr. Jefferson. Some samplings:

Cynicism:

"There is no act, however virtuous, for which ingenuity may not find some bad motive."

This put me in mind of Cardinal Richlieu's dictum, found in *Respectfully Quoted*: "If you give me six lines written in the hand of the most honest of men, I will find something in them which will hang him."

Reform:

"The hole and the patch should be commensurate."

Good advice to those on both sides of a reform movement!

Decalogue of Canons for Observation in Practical Life (written for his grandson):

"1. Never put off until tomorrow what you can do today.

2. Never trouble another for what you can do for yourself.

3. Never spend your money before you have it.

4. Never buy what you do not want, because it is cheap; it will be dear to you.

5. Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst and cold.

6. We never repent of having eaten too little.

7. Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.

8. How much pain have cost us the evils which have never happened.

9. Take things always by their smooth handle.

10. When angry, count ten, before you speak; if very angry, an hundred."

Citizen Jefferson: The Wit and Wisdom of an American Sage is an altogether fine book of quotations, one of many books stemming from the early years of our Republic and listed in the Madison House catalog, which I'm sure they would be happy to send you. Write them at 2016 Winnebago Street, PO Box 3100, Madison, WI 53704; phone 608-244-6210; or FAX 608-244-7050. ■

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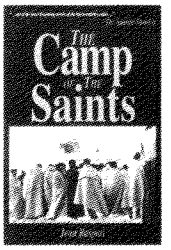

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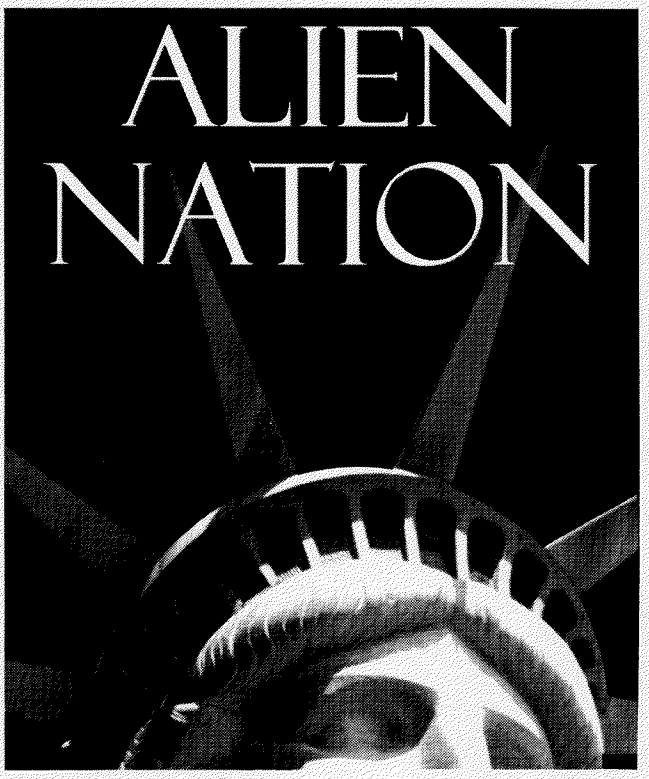

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